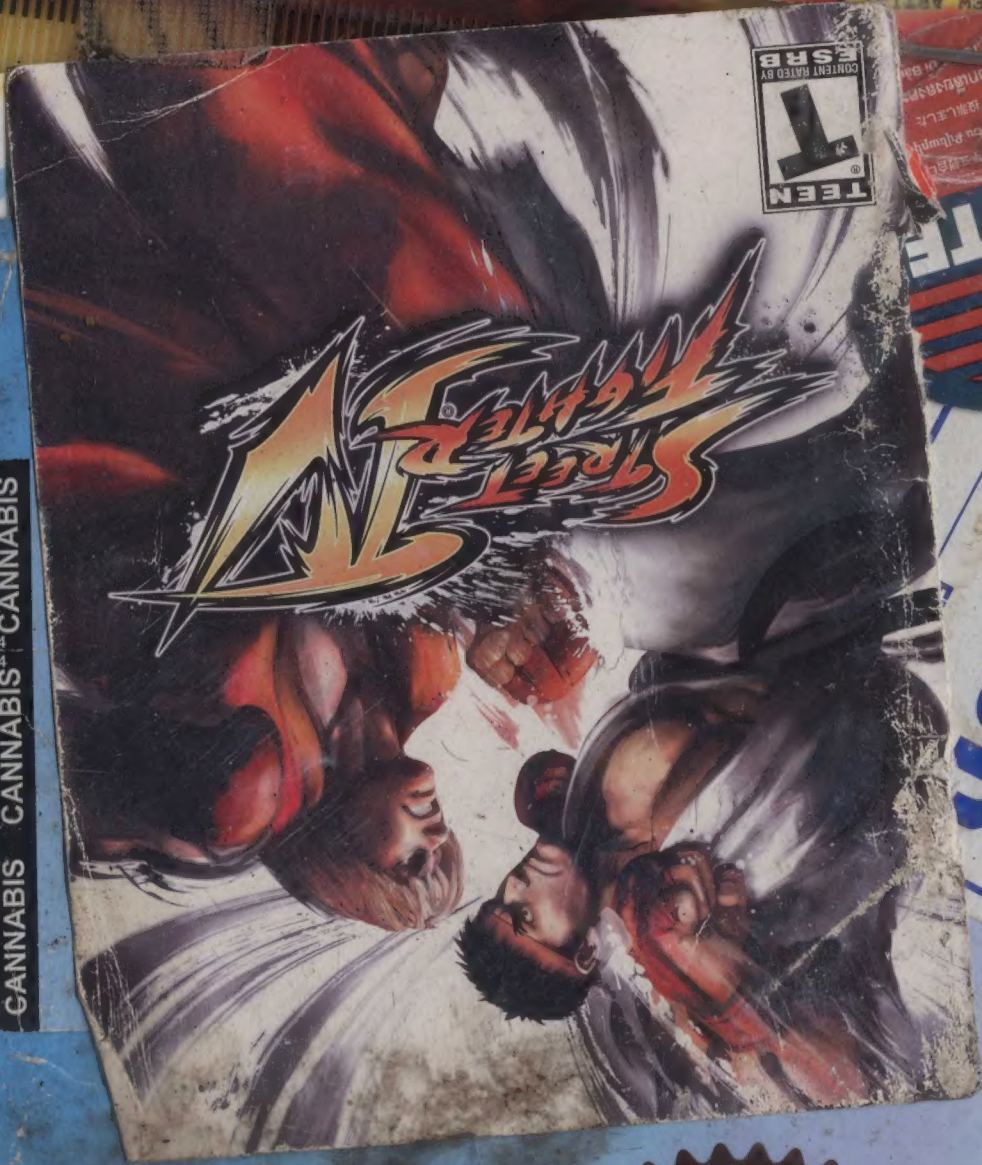


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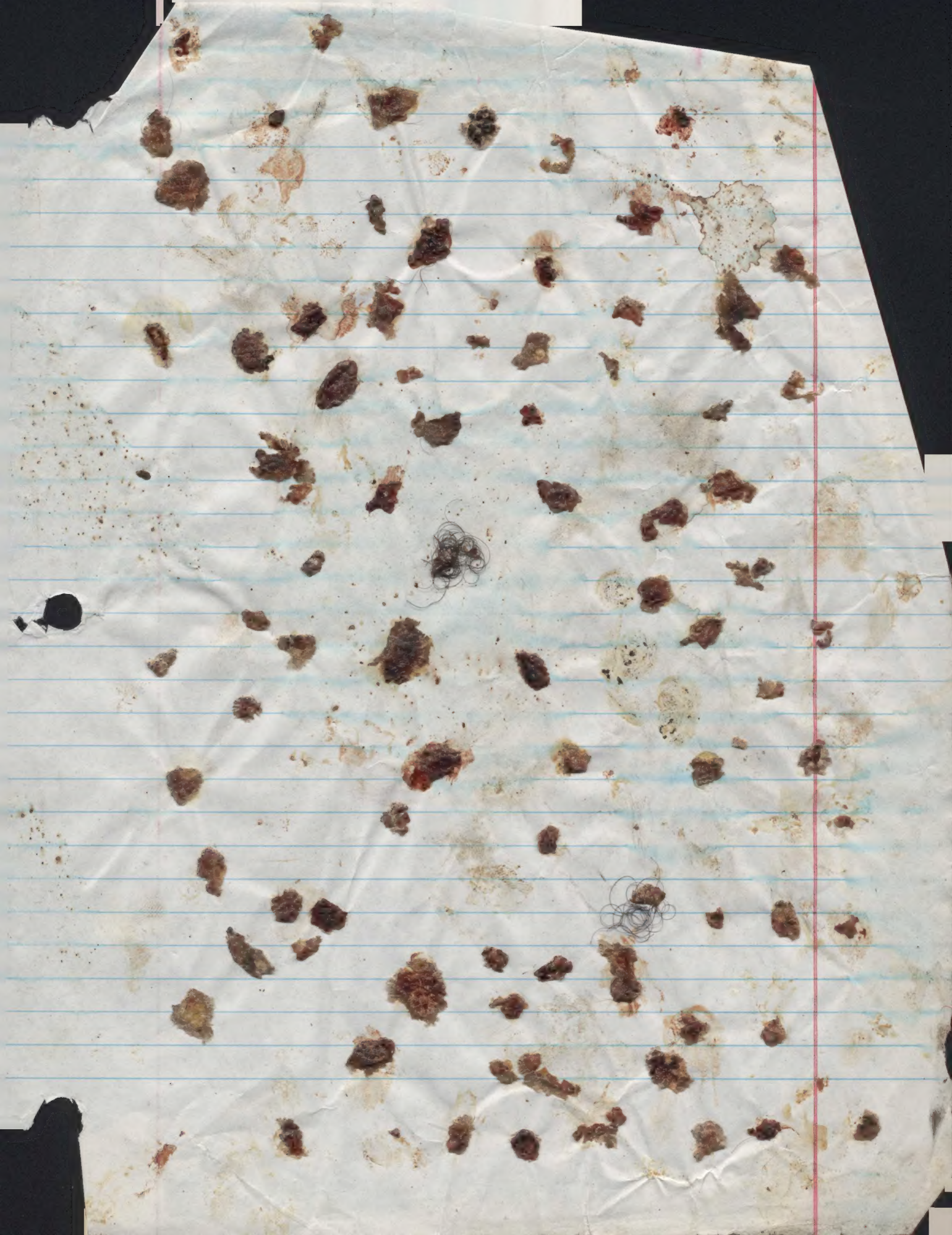
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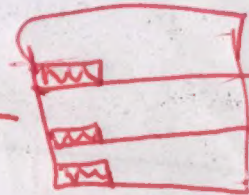
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## What's News

### Business & Finance

- ◆ **The U.S. economy**, which weathered false recession alarms in 2023 and 2024, is entering an uncomfortable summer as businesses warn that shifting trade policies are interfering with their ability to plan, leading to hiring and investment freezes. **A1**
- ◆ **Wall Street's worst fears** that escalating tariffs could sink the global economy have receded, but anxieties about inflation remain. **B1**
- ◆ **"Ballerina,"** the action thriller distributed by Lionsgate, made its debut at No. 2, earning \$25 million at the weekend film box office. **B2**
- ◆ **The trade in dolls** made in China and exported to the U.S. remained undercut by Trump's tariffs as manufacturers looked toward the expiration of a temporary reduction in the duties imposed on Beijing. **B3**
- ◆ **A Chinese-owned company** is halting construction of an electric-vehicle battery plant in South Carolina, in part because of U.S. tariffs and a potential loss of federal subsidies for clean energy. **B3**
- ◆ **Food- and beverage-container maker Stanley 1913** is broadening its focus from Utah to Europe and beyond as it develops a raft of products in new categories. **B6**
- ◆ **The SEC is considering** loosening longstanding rules that restrict private-equity investments to institutions and wealthy people, another step in its plans to broaden access to a fast-growing asset class. **B9**

### World-Wide

- ◆ **National Guard troops** arrived in Los Angeles on Trump's order after protests roiled the city in recent days as federal law-enforcement officers carried out immigration operations in the region. **A1**
- ◆ **A monthslong legal saga** entered a new phase after the Trump administration repatriated Kilmar Abrego Garcia to face criminal charges that he took part in an international smuggling ring with gang ties. **A3**
- ◆ **Trump warned** former right-hand-man Elon Musk to stay out of the midterm elections, threatening "very serious consequences" if he backed Democrats in the campaign. **A5**
- ◆ **Some of the nation's wealthiest universities** hope to avoid a huge potential tax increase by pitching a plan to Congress to spend more of their own money. **A1**
- ◆ **Republican anger** over Harvard's links to China gained traction, focusing on a 2023 event in Kunming co-hosted by one of the university's professors. **A6**
- ◆ **Israel is putting** more women soldiers into combat roles, helping to relieve the military's acute personnel shortage after 20 months of war against Hamas in Gaza. **A8**
- ◆ **Taiwan embarked** on a mission to purge its allies of Beijing from its civil ser-



Members of the California National Guard tried to clear protesters near a detention center in downtown Los Angeles Sunday.

## Guardsmen Sent by Trump Confront Protesters in L.A.

Military response to immigration standoff comes against the wishes of Newsom

By GINGER ADAMS OTIS AND JACK MORPHET

National Guard troops faced off with protesters in Los Angeles on Sunday, a day after President Trump mobilized the Guard against the wishes of California's governor to deal with two days of skirmishes over federal immigration operations.

California's 79th Infantry Brigade Combat Team sent

300 soldiers to three locations in the Los Angeles area to protect federal agents and property. In all, Trump has said he would deploy some 2,000 National Guard troops to the city. Outside a federal detention center, television footage Sunday showed a line of National Guard troops and other federal officers facing off with a loose throng of people holding signs and flags.

The deployment of troops under federal authority in response to civil unrest is a rare step, one that usually requires the president to find under the Insurrection Act that they are needed to enforce the law or restore order.

The National Guard forces were deployed under the orders of the federal government, known as Title 10 authority, a U.S. Northern Command spokesman said.

As the soldiers stationed themselves at federal facilities in Los Angeles on mostly quiet streets early Sunday, the war of words between the Trump administration and California officials escalated.

Trump, a Republican, used a social-media post to thank the National Guard and blame what he called an incompetent governor and Los Angeles mayor whom he called "unable to handle the task."

Defense Secretary Pete Heg-

seth said on X that active-duty Marines at Camp Pendleton in Southern California were on high alert and would be sent to reinforce the National Guard if violence continued.

California Gov. Gavin Newsom said the threat to deploy active-duty Marines on American soil was "deranged behavior."

Trump's order was intended to "manufacture a crisis. He's hoping for chaos so he can justify more crack-downs, more fear, more control," the Democratic governor said.

Please turn to page A7

◆ **Little restraint on using active-duty troops.**..... **A7**

## An Open And Shut Victory

**OOH LA LA:** Spain's Carlos Alcaraz held the French Open trophy at the Roland-Garros Complex in Paris on Sunday after winning the men's singles final match against Italy's Jannik Sinner, coming back from two sets down—and winning a pair of tiebreakers—to claim a second consecutive Grand Slam title. **A14**



THEAID MORITZ/AP/GETTY IMAGES

## Colleges Propose Spending Increases To Limit Tax Hike

By JULIET CHUNG AND RICHARD RUBIN

Some of the nation's wealthiest universities are hoping to avoid a huge potential tax hike by pitching an alternative plan to Congress: a pledge to spend more of their own money.

The current version of President Trump's tax bill, which passed the House last month, includes a hefty, 21% annual tax on the wealthiest

schools' investment income, up from the current 1.4% rate. The plan could add hundreds of millions of dollars to many schools' annual tax bills. The White House said recently that the tax increase would create accountability for "woke, elitist universities."

Now, nearly two dozen schools, including many of the

Please turn to page A6

◆ **Harvard's China ties stir new front in Trump fight.**..... **A6**

## Trump-Musk Split Unleashes Emotion and Unsolicited Advice

Relationship experts aren't surprised to see

## Kennedy Center Gets MAGA Makeover

## INSIDE





# HEARD<sub>ON THE</sub> STREET

FINANCIAL ANALYSIS &amp; COMMENTARY

## Trump's New Steel Tariffs Aren't Bulletproof

Conventional wisdom is that recent sector-based levies are on firmer legal footing, but that might not be the case

U.S. steelmaker shares soared on news of President Trump's new tariffs. But are these tariffs as bulletproof as investors seem to believe?

The steel tariffs, like those on autos and auto parts, are sector-based. They differ in that respect from the "Liberation Day" tariffs Trump unveiled in April. The U.S. Court of International Trade in May blocked Trump's tariffs on U.S. trading partners, rejecting the argument that he could invoke emergency powers to set the country-by-country tariffs. An appeals court stayed that ruling pending its own review.

The conventional wisdom in the markets has been that Trump's recent sector-based tariffs are on firmer legal footing. That might not be the case, though.

In fact, there is reason to believe his new 50% tariff on imported steel could be vulnerable to a legal challenge. To speed up the process, Trump piggybacked on the findings of a national-security investigation by the Commerce Department in 2018, during his first term.

The question now is whether the findings were too stale to be the basis for a new tariff increase, and thus whether Trump should have sought a new national-security investigation first. Going that route would have delayed his timeline. **Cleveland-Cliffs** is up 30% since Trump announced his new tariff plans May 30. **Nucor** and **Steel Dynamics** have risen 11% and 9%, respectively. The tariff increase took effect June 4.

Trump also relied on Commerce Department findings from his first term in office when raising sector-based tariffs this year on aluminum, autos and auto parts. His directive raising aluminum tariffs to 50% from 25% took effect June 4, as well.

While it is too soon to know



Nucor's shares have risen 11% since President Trump announced his new tariff plans on May 30.

whether the sectoral tariffs will draw serious court challenges, a look at the legal underpinnings shows potential soft spots. Trump in his June 3 proclamation said he exercised his authority under the Trade Expansion Act of 1962 to raise steel tariffs to 50% from 25%. In doing so, he cited the Commerce Department's 2018 investigative report that concluded the quantities of steel being imported into the U.S. threatened to harm national security.

The trade statute says the president, within 90 days of such a report, shall determine whether he concurs with the findings and decide what action to take in re-

sponse. After that, he has 15 days to implement the action.

A 2021 ruling by a three-judge panel of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Federal Circuit said the deadlines aren't strict and some flexibility is allowed. In that case, Trump waited five months after his initial 2018 action to boost tariffs on imported Turkish steel to 50% from 25%. An importer, Transpacific Steel, sued, and the Court of International Trade ruled against the higher tariffs on Turkish imports, saying Trump had gone past the statutory time limit. (By then, Trump had already returned the tariff on Turkish steel to 25%.) The appellate court reversed

that ruling in a 2-1 decision. That decision might have opened the door for Trump to rely on the same 2018 investigative report yet again—seven years later—for his latest tariff boost.

However, the appeals court said its ruling applied "in the circumstances presented here." A decision could turn out differently in other circumstances, such as where the investigative findings are "simply too stale to be a basis" for new presidential actions, the court said.

Tim Meyer, an international-trade specialist and professor at Duke Law School, said the appeals court's ruling appears to leave

room for a plaintiff to challenge the new steel tariffs.

"The tricky part is how to apply the standards the court identifies," he said. "For example, what does it mean for a report to be 'stale'? The court seems to suggest that the passage of time might be enough. But how much time is too much time?"

Much has happened in the past seven years, including a pandemic. U.S. steel imports were 26.2 million metric tons in 2024, according to the Commerce Department, down 24% since 2017. That point alone could underscore the need for new investigative findings as a predicate for presidential action. Trump in his June 3 proclamation said he considered "current information newly provided" by the Commerce Department, but didn't say what it was.

Investors will be watching to see if any well-heeled plaintiffs surface to contest the tariffs. Gordon Johnson, chief executive at GLJ Research, in a June 2 note to clients said he believed the surge in steel stocks was premature and that the new 50% tariffs "could be overturned due to a lack of a new investigation."

He noted no one had sought an injunction yet to block them. That said, he wrote, "we believe there are procedural problems that make these new tariffs vulnerable to a lawsuit."

Steelmaker shares could take a hit if a court invalidates the sectoral tariffs. U.S. automaker stocks, on the other hand, could rally. Of course, the Trump administration could simply initiate new Commerce Department investigations and reinstitute the tariffs later. The net result for investors and the economy might be just more prolonged uncertainty about Trump's favorite negotiating tool.

—Jonathan Weil

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## U.S. NEWS



# Trump Faces Little Restraint On Troop Use

Defense secretary prepared to send Marines to quell California protests

By ELIZA COLLINS  
AND NANCY A. YOUSSEF

When unrest erupted around the country in 2020, President Trump's then-Defense Secretary Mark Esper drew a line in the sand: active-duty military troops should rarely be deployed on American streets to quell protests.

"The option to use active duty forces in a law enforcement role should only be used as a matter of last resort, and only in the most urgent and dire of situations," Esper said, publicly breaking with Trump, who had floated deploying troops to respond to protests against the killing of George Floyd.

Five years later, Trump second-term Defense Secretary Pete Hegseth appears to have no such qualms.

Hegseth on Saturday said he was prepared to send active-duty troops to respond to protests in California if the situation on the ground worsens. The warning followed an order by Trump that was carried out by Hegseth to deploy at least 2,000 National Guard troops after two days of skirmishes between demonstrators and federal officers over deportation orders. The National Guard troops started arriving in Los Angeles early Sunday over the objections of local and state officials.

Nearly five months into his second term, Trump has surrounded himself with senior

advisers and cabinet officials who are largely in lockstep with his hard-charging approach to the presidency. While his team frequently put up roadblocks to his plans in his first four years in office, the loyalists he has assembled this time around are eager to implement—and sometimes expand on—his political priorities, according to administration officials and others familiar with the matter.

National Guard troops are part-time soldiers assigned to a state and usually under the governor's authority. They are activated for missions under state authority such as responding to natural disasters, as well as for federal missions. Active-duty troops answer solely to the commander in chief and their focus is on defending the U.S.

Use of National Guard and active-duty troops for domestic law enforcement is restricted under federal law, though the president has authority to activate both to deal with rebellion and to enforce the law when civil authorities can't.

It has been invoked in the past to deal with labor riots and to enforce civil-rights laws, but the Pentagon has generally been reluctant to get involved in law-enforcement missions.

"The military will follow lawful orders. But domestic activities, like this one, is not something they ordinarily seek, especially at a time when there are multiple demands on the armed forces because of external threats," said retired Air Force Maj. Gen. Charles Dunlap, who served as a judge advocate, which provide legal services



Demonstrators on Sunday protested federal immigration sweeps in Los Angeles. At left, a member of the California National Guard deployed in response to the protests.



for U.S. troops.

While the federal government hasn't authorized the deployment of active-duty troops to respond to the protests, Hegseth said on Saturday that Marines at Camp Pendleton in Southern California were on "high alert."

The White House, in a memo detailing its justification for deploying the National Guard troops, said the protests may amount to "a breach of the authority of the Government of the United States" if they inhibit the administration's ability to carry out deportations.

California Gov. Gavin Newsom, a Democrat, responded that sending in active-duty troops would amount to "deranged behavior." Earlier, he said local and state law enforcement had the situation under control and didn't need the help of the National Guard, which had been assisting the city with wildfire recovery.

Los Angeles Mayor Karen Bass said sending in the National Guard was "a chaotic escalation" following deportation operations in the area.

The first protests began Friday in Los Angeles, when residents reacted to federal agents engaged in what appeared to be an immigration enforcement operation. Federal agents were seen in at least two locations in the city. As word spread, more people showed up and the protests grew and lasted into the night.

Homeland Security spokeswoman Tricia McLaughlin said Friday that some 800 protesters surrounded and breached a federal law-enforcement building in Los Angeles. She said protesters assaulted ICE officers, slashed tires and defaced public property. More than a dozen protesters were arrested.

On Saturday, residents of Paramount, a city within Los Angeles County about 16 miles south of the downtown

area, saw federal agents gathering in an industrial park. The residents began trying to block the streets nearby. The protest turned into a standoff between federal agents and approximately 300 people, according to the mayor. It lasted most of the day.

Before this weekend, Trump had never mobilized the National Guard without getting approval from a state governor. In 2020, Trump deployed the National Guard to Washington, D.C., because in the absence of a governor, the nation's capital falls under the president's control. In his first term, Trump also sent federal agents—not U.S. troops under federal command—to some major cities amid protests, including Portland, Ore.

The deployment of active-duty troops under federal authority in response to civil unrest is a rare step, one that usually requires the president to find under the Insurrection Act that they are needed to enforce the law or restore order.

The George H.W. Bush administration deployed U.S. Marines to help restore order after violent protests erupted in California in the wake of the 1992 acquittal of four police officers in the beating of Rodney King. That marked the last invocation of the Insurrection Act, and in that case, the troops were deployed at the request of California's governor. Afterward,

some of the troops involved said they didn't want to do a similar mission again.

Trump didn't invoke the Insurrection Act to deploy National Guard troops to California. Instead, the president cited a rarely used statute that says the president can deploy troops to suppress a rebellion. The courts have historically been deferential to the president's interpretation of the use of that authority to deploy troops domestically, according to Laura Dickinson, a professor at George Washington University Law School who specializes in national security.

Newsom said Trump's decision to take control of California's National Guard "is purposefully inflammatory and will only escalate tensions."

The move sets Trump on a collision course with Newsom, a longtime foe who leads the country's largest state economy and is seen as a potential 2028 Democratic candidate for president.

Trump and his allies have long viewed California as an opponent to their agenda. After wildfires ravaged Los Angeles earlier this year, Trump said the state needed to adopt voter identification laws and send water from northern California to the south to get future recovery funds. Newsom, at the time, softened his anti-Trump rhetoric in an effort to ease tensions with the president.

## Deployment Follows Standoff Between Agents and Residents

By GINGER ADAMS OTIS  
AND JACK MORPHET

Members of the National Guard began deploying in Los Angeles on Sunday following two days of clashes between protesters and federal officers, including Immigration and Customs Enforcement agents.

The Trump administration said it is sending at least 2,000 National Guard troops to Los Angeles, calling California Gov. Gavin Newsom and Los Angeles Mayor Karen Bass "incompetent." Newsom called the president's move "purposefully inflammatory" and Bass said she is working closely with law enforcement to "find the best path forward."

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On Saturday, residents of Paramount, a city within Los Angeles County about 16 miles south of the downtown area, saw federal agents gathering in an industrial park. The residents began trying to block the streets nearby. The protest turned into a standoff between federal agents and approximately 300 people, according to the mayor. It lasted most of the day.

yelling and shouting for them to leave their communities. The protests drew responses from local law enforcement. In some instances, tear gas and flash bangs were used in an attempt to disperse or control the crowds. Some protesters launched fireworks in response. At least one protester was injured Friday. There were no immediate reports of injuries on Saturday.

Homeland Security spokeswoman Tricia McLaughlin said Friday that some 800 protesters surrounded and breached a federal law-enforcement building in Los Angeles. She said protesters assaulted ICE officers, slashed tires and defaced public property.

members and other immigrants with criminal histories. "Our officers and agents continued to enforce immigration law in LA, despite the violent protesters," the agency posted on X.

U.S. Attorney for the Central District of California Bilal "Bill" Essayli said Saturday that more than a dozen protesters who "impeded agents" were arrested and warned more arrests could follow.

"We will continue to arrest anyone who interferes with federal law enforcement," Essayli said in a post on X.

The FBI said it has agents in California and all over the country supporting the Department of Homeland Security in its immigration

and gives other resources such as intelligence analysts and technical support working from command posts.

**How is Trump able to call in the National Guard?**

Trump ordered the troops to temporarily protect Immigration and Customs Enforcement personnel, as well as federal property, according to a memo released by the White House late Saturday.

The deployment of troops under federal authority in response to civil unrest is a rare step, one that usually requires the president to find under the Insurrection Act that they are needed to enforce the law

**What else has the Trump administration said?**

Defense Secretary Pete Hegseth said on X that active-duty Marines at Camp Pendleton in Southern California were on "high alert" and would be sent to reinforce the National Guard if violence continued. Newsom said the threat to deploy active-duty Marines on American soil was "deranged behavior."

On Sunday morning, Hegseth said it was "deranged" to allow attacks on law enforcement and doubled down on the possibility of deploying ac-



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## Guard deployed despite state objections

Officials say Trump is stoking chaos as troops release tear gas on protesters decrying ICE raids



By JAMES QUEALLY,  
NATHAN SOLIS,  
SALVADOR HERNANDEZ  
AND HANNAH FRY

California National Guard troops arrived in Los Angeles on Sunday in a show of force following scattered clashes between immigration agents and protesters and amid a widening political divide between California and the Trump administration.

The move by President Trump to activate nearly 2,000 guardsmen marked the first time since 1965 that a president has deployed a state's National Guard without a request from that state's governor. The decision was met with stern rebukes from state and local officials, including Gov. Gavin Newsom, who said the deployment was "not to meet an unmet need, but to manufacture a crisis."

Newsom's office on Sunday afternoon sent a formal letter to the Trump administration asking it to rescind its deployment of troops.

There were tense moments Sunday outside a federal detention center in downtown L.A., with National Guard troops firing tear gas and nonlethal rounds at protesters.

But other areas that had seen unrest over the last few days, including the Fashion District, Paramount and Compton, seemed calm.

It was unclear exactly how many troops were deployed to Los Angeles as of [See Guard, A9]

PROTESTERS shout at California National Guard troops sent Sunday to guard the Metropolitan Detention Center in downtown L.A. JASON ARMOND Los Angeles Times

## Amid Trump's order, California tries to not play into his hands

By JESSICA GARRISON  
AND RACHEL URANGA

President Trump and his allies have spent the weekend painting Los Angeles as a city consumed by violent protest and even "insurrection" over immigration raids.

On Saturday evening, Trump insisted the unrest — scattered clashes across the county — was out of control. He bypassed Gov. Gavin Newsom and called in the National Guard. Defense Secretary Pete Hegseth suggested U.S. Marines from Camp Pendleton might



LUKE JOHNSON Los Angeles Times

THE PRESIDENT cast L.A. as a city roiled by violent protest. Above, an immigration march Sunday.

need to be deployed to the streets next.

For a governor whose state was portrayed as being in the grips of uncontrolled rebellion, Newsom responded in an unusual way: He began issuing Californians a series of increasingly sophisticated and urgent pieces of political advice about how not to play into the president's hands.

"The President is attempting to inflame passions and provoke a response," Newsom wrote in an email Sunday morning. "They want the violence. They think it is good for [See Order, A10]

### What happened in Paramount

What two reporters saw at a chaotic demonstration around a Home Depot that spurred Trump to send in the National Guard. As

## A political lesson from unleashed president for L.A.

By MICHAEL WILNER

WASHINGTON — When racial justice protests rolled cities across America at the depths of the pandemic, President Trump, then in his first term, demonstrated restraint. Threats to invoke the Insurrection Act and to federalize the National Guard never materialized.

This time, it took less than 24 hours of isolated protests in Los Angeles County for Trump, more aggressive than ever in his use of executive power, to issue a historic order.

"The federal government will step in and solve the problem," he said on social media Saturday night, issuing executive action not seen since civil unrest gripped the nation in the 1960s.

It was the latest expression of a president unleashed from conventional parameters on his power, unconcerned with states' rights or the proportionality

of his actions. And the targeting of a Democratic city in a Democratic state was, according to the vice president, an intentional ploy to make a political lesson out of Los Angeles.

"The immediate question is the legality of the president pulling in the National Guard, and it is another clear example of the president using the full force of the government in response to resistance," said Peter Kastor, chair of the history department at Washington University in St. Louis. "It speaks to how much the gloves are off in his second term."

The pace of the escalation, and the federal government's unwillingness to defer to cooperative local law enforcement authorities, raise questions about the administration's intentions as it responds to protesters. The administration skipped several steps in an established ladder of response opened [See Politics, A9]

## Is federal activation of troops legal?

By SEEMA MEHTA  
AND IAN JAMES

The Trump administration announced Saturday that National Guard troops were being sent to Los Angeles — an action Gov. Gavin Newsom said he opposed. President Trump is activating the Guard by using powers that have been invoked only rarely.

Trump said in a memo to the Defense and Homeland Security departments that he was calling the National Guard into federal service

under a provision called Title 10 to "temporarily protect ICE and other United States Government personnel who are performing Federal functions."

### What is Title 10?

Title 10 provides for activating National Guard troops for federal service. Such Title 10 orders can be used for deploying National Guard members in the United States or abroad.

Erwin Chemerinsky, one of the nation's leading constitutional law scholars, said [See Powers, A10]



CARLIN STIEHL Los Angeles Times

PROTESTERS watch a car burn Saturday in Compton at Atlantic Avenue and East Alondra Boulevard.

How cutting experts

LA28 confident on Olympics cost Games' organizers are

Saudi Arabia's \$38-billion



## Unmatched ubiquity: Shaq gets more rich and famous

With TV ads and licensing deals, retired NBA icon continues to cash in off the court. **In Sports**

## Ex-Ford hauler builds new trucking startup

Cofounder of Squirrely dives into challenges, satisfaction from launching company. **In Money**



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## George Takei gets candid about coming out

Marking his new memoir "It Rhymes With Takei," actor and activist talks about feeling liberated and his fears for the state of democracy. **In Life**

# USA TODAY

THE NATION'S NEWS | \$3 | WEDNESDAY, JUNE 11, 2025

JUN 11 2025



**Susan Page**  
Washington Bureau Chief  
USA TODAY

## Trump's military parade a statement

Some say it's inspiring; others call it alarming

WASHINGTON - Donald Trump loves a parade.

Also palace-in-the-sky planes, gold decor in the Oval Office, the adulation of huge rallies, the company of kings (British, Saudi), and the general aura surrounding power, wealth and royalty.

The president's determination to stage a procession of America's troops and its military hardware, with 28 Abrams tanks thundering up Constitution Avenue in the nation's capital and 50 military helicopters thumping overhead, reflects his vision of his role and the nation he leads.

Asserting sweeping and sometimes unprecedented powers for the presidency, he is commanding a go-it-alone United States, ready and willing to flex its muscle in the world.

See PAGE, Page 6A



Crews prepare to offload mechanized equipment arriving for the June 14 parade marking the U.S. Army's 250th anniversary. JACK GRUBER/USA TODAY

## Stinging and 'wicked' needle ants spreading across the U.S.

**Elizabeth Weise**  
USA TODAY

An invasive species of stinging,

He ran marathons and made six figures. No one suspected his struggle.



ILLUSTRATION BY TIFFANY CLEMENS/  
USA TODAY; GETTY IMAGES

## Gambling addiction ringing alarm bells

**Rachel Hale** USA TODAY



PROVIDED BY SAM DEMELLO

"It's really easy to hide from other people, but it's also really easy to hide from yourself."

**Sam DeMello**  
On gambling addiction

To Sam DeMello's friends, it seemed as if the then-26-year-old had everything together: a six-figure tech salary, an enviable workout regimen and a happy relationship. But as he crossed the finish line of the 2013 Nike San Francisco marathon, he was surrounded by a deep sense of self-loathing. • His friends, family and girlfriend had no idea he was struggling with a crippling sports betting addiction. He fell into it just a few weeks after being introduced to sports gambling, though he didn't realize it until years later. • "All of my friends would come to me and say: 'Congratulations, man, you're crushing it. We're so proud of you,'" DeMello says. "I would just feel this dissonance, because I felt so fraudulent."

See GAMBLING, Page 6A



## MUSIC NEWS &amp; VIEWS

# Miley and mom celebrate 'Beautiful' film

Melissa Ruggieri  
USA TODAY

NEW YORK – Miley Cyrus swanned onto the red carpet in a sheer beaded dress accentuated by a cream-colored acre of luxurious strands.

She gathered the crew who supported her in making her "Something Beautiful" visual album, as all, including mom Tish, turned toward the cameras.

"Everybody say 'dysfunctional!'" Cyrus yelled, beaming.

The quip was indicative of Cyrus' playful mood as she arrived at the Beacon Theatre on June 6 to premiere the stylish, nearly hour-long film companion to the "Something Beautiful" album that bowed May 30.

The debut at the Tribeca Film Festival prefaces the June 12, one-day-only appearance the film will make in theaters nationwide.

Cyrus is the biggest contemporary pop star unveiling a film at this year's festival, which runs through June 15, and the sold-out theater full of devotees who loudly sang along with her new material emphasized the prestige moment.

"There is a very intense amount of energy we're sharing in this room," she said during a post-screening chat with the audience, which included a Cyrus-led singalong of her 2009 hit, "The Climb."

Intensity reigned throughout the 13 clips, with Cyrus donning fashion both sophisticated and sleek, dancing in fishnets and dispatching an industrial wind machine for added visual zip.

She's the Pied Piper of feral emotions, slightly dangerous but a lot of fun, her penetrating gaze daring you to see what awaits.

"There's nothing more beautiful on the planet than deep emotion," Cyrus said during her talkback.

The "Something Beautiful" record is inspired by Pink Floyd's "The Wall" – a concept album connected to special memories with one of her brothers, she tells USA TODAY on the red carpet – and Cyrus' videos unfold with a loose connection that is all about feeling, much like the most memorable selections in the concept album annals.



Miley Cyrus talks to reporters before the premiere of her "Something Beautiful" visual album at the Beacon Theatre during the Tribeca Film Festival in New York. MELISSA RUGGIERI/USA TODAY

There isn't any filler in Cyrus' album or visual companion, which she said took about two weeks to shoot, and from the pink clouds and sunsets of "Golden Burning Sun" to the blue-gray shading of the Madonna-esque "Reborn," creativity dominates.

These are the standouts.

## 'More to Lose'

As the sparkly pop bounce of "End of the World" fades into a screen of white light, a close-up image of Cyrus comes into view. The beaded headwear is the

focal point until the camera pushes in even closer to Cyrus' perfectly shaded cheekbones, a most intimate angle for a most intimate song.

## 'Walk of Fame'

The most compelling track on an album full of soaring choruses now has an equally absorbing video. In a world of neon, glitter and stiletto boots, Cyrus writhes against walls and struts down sidewalks, notably the Hollywood Walk of Fame. The song is an irresistible club banger with a throbbing chorus and Cy-



Miley Cyrus' visual album for "Something Beautiful" will hit theaters June 12 for one day only. PROVIDED BY JONNIE CHAMBERS FOR MILEY CYRUS

rus adeptly matches the mood of seedy and glam.

She is visually arresting as she rolls around the ground, her eyes never losing the camera. Cuts to song guest Brittany Howard as she vocalizes add a flourish of drama, but nothing extra is needed with Cyrus as the subject.

The clip was filmed at 2 a.m. on a street that hadn't seen much cleanup – "We had everything we needed ... besides a broom," she joked at the screening – and consequently led to Cyrus contracting an infection.

## 'Every Girl You've Ever Loved'

Cyrus strides through empty rooms followed by the galloping beat of the song. She cuts a powerful image singing in the shadows of her favorite toy, the industrial fan, while showcasing staccato movements. But her steely gaze betrays a mischievous flicker.

Then model Naomi Campbell arrives for her feature on the song and she and Cyrus engage in a sexy-tough duet. The "pose" coda of the song is set to the pair romping in black bodices and fishnets, exchanging piercing stares and strutting off together in mutual laughter – girl power exemplified.

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## NEWS ANALYSIS

### Trump's Threat to Musk: Another Abuse of Power

#### President Views Government as His Tool

By PETER BAKER

WASHINGTON — Amid the fireworks of his spectacular breakup with Elon Musk last week was a striking admission by President Trump that once could have led to subpoenas.

As he lashed out at Mr. Musk for disloyalty, Mr. Trump threatened to cut off the billionaire's federal contracts in retaliation, effectively acknowledging what his critics have long said, that he looks at the government as his personal instrument for dispensing favors to friends and penalizing those who cross him.

In the old days, that might have been cause for a corruption investigation. In the modern era, it's just another Thursday. Mr. Trump has long since abandoned the kinds of rules and traditions that would constrain a president from employing the power of his office to personally steer federal contracts to allies and away from enemies. And even more remarkable, he has no hesitation about saying it out loud.

"The Musk quote is just fur-

ther proof that Trump and the late King Louis share a common view of the world: The state, it is me," said Trevor Potter, the president of the Campaign Legal Center and a former Republican chairman of the Federal Election Commission. "And yes, this is an example of Trump publicly and improperly threatening to use the enormous contracting power of the federal government as a weapon to punish someone for criticizing him. It is a complete abuse of power."

Mr. Trump's second term so far has been a 140-day quest for "retribution," the word he used during his campaign, one that has bent, broken and busted through seemingly every boundary of the presidency. He has used the highest office in the land to take revenge against prosecutors, F.B.I. agents, law firms, news organizations, generals, Harvard University, former Biden administration officials and, yes, former Trump adminis-

Continued on Page A16

## TRUMP DEPLOYS NATIONAL GUARD TO L.A.



ALEX WELSH FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

National Guard members took up positions in Paramount, Calif., on Sunday. President Trump is deploying at least 2,000 troops.

### Musk May Be Gone After a Spat, But His Team Burrows In Deeper

This article is by Christopher Flavelle, Coral Davenport, Nicholas Nehamas, Kate Conger and Zach Montague.

Elon Musk's blowup with President Trump may have doomed Washington's most potent partnership, but the billionaire's signature cost-cutting project has become deeply embedded in Mr. Trump's administration and could be there to stay.

At the Department of Energy, for example, a former member of the Department of Government Efficiency is now serving as the chief of staff.

At the Interior Department, DOGE members have been con-

verted into federal employees and embedded into the agency, said a person familiar with the matter, who spoke on the condition of anonymity out of fear of retaliation. And at the Environmental Protection Agency, where a spokeswoman said that there are two senior officials associated with the DOGE mission, work continues apace on efforts to dismantle an agency that Mr. Trump has long targeted.

"They are still internally going forward; we don't really feel as if anything has stopped here," said Nicole Cantello, a former lawyer for the E.P.A. who represents its union in Chicago.

Whether DOGE keeps its cur-

Continued on Page A17

## Conspiracy Theories Haunting Trump Officials

This article is by Glenn Thrush, Alan Feuer and Adam Goldman.

WASHINGTON — Dan Bongino, the intense and voluble media personality tapped by President Trump to be a top F.B.I. official, appeared on Fox News last month to deliver news that should not have been news: Jeffrey Epstein, he said with glum resignation, had not been murdered after all.

"I've seen the whole file," said Mr. Bongino, sitting next to his boss, Kash Patel, the bureau's director. "He killed himself."

Investigations into Mr. Epstein's 2019 death in a Manhattan prison cell found serious management errors but no evidence of criminality. Yet Mr. Trump, once a friend of the financier accused of

### Supporters Fume Over a Failure to Prove Fringe Claims

sexually abusing dozens of teenage girls, has long suggested Mr. Epstein was silenced by shadowy clients of his sex trafficking ring. In a 2023 episode of his popular podcast, Mr. Bongino, now the bureau's No. 2 official, implored listeners, "Please do not let that story go."

They obliged. A Trump-allied podcaster suggested the F.B.I. leaders were "beholden to some unseen powers." A former F.B.I. agent who has been critical of the bureau posted a parody of a law

firm ad with Mr. Bongino standing next to a sign that read "Trust Me & Bro Consulting." Tucker Carlson, a friend of Mr. Bongino's, said Trump appointees were "making a huge mistake, promising to reveal things and then not revealing them." Alex Jones, a founding father of the modern conspiracy movement, referred to Mr. Patel's own handling of the Epstein case as flat-out "gaslighting."

Mr. Patel and Mr. Bongino, partisan showmen placed in positions previously held by people with greater experience, earned their bona fides in Mr. Trump's camp by promoting conspiracy theories, making promises of what they would accomplish under Mr. Trump when he returned to power based on fictional or exaggerated

Continued on Page A13

## RESPONSE TO PROTESTS

### Rare Use of Federal Force After Days of Clashes Over ICE Raids

This article is by Shawn Hubler, Adam Nagourney, Sarah Mervosh and Livia Albeck-Ripka.

LOS ANGELES — Tensions simmered in Los Angeles on Sunday amid a planned third day of protests, hours after President Trump took the extraordinary action of ordering at least 2,000 National Guard members to assist immigration agents clashing with demonstrators.

The announcement late Saturday by Mr. Trump — who said that any protest or act of violence that impeded officials would be considered a "form of rebellion" — was an escalation that put Los Angeles, and California, squarely at the center of tensions over his immigration crackdown.

The state's governor, Gavin Newsom, called the rare use of federal powers to bypass his authority "purposefully inflammatory" on Saturday night, adding that there was "no unmet need" and that the deployment was "the wrong mission and will erode public trust." The city's mayor, Karen Bass, said Sunday that sending the National Guard to Los Angeles is "a chaotic escalation," in the aftermath of immigration raids that she said have terrorized community members.

Nearly 300 members of the California National Guard took up positions at three sites around Los Angeles on Sunday morning, according to Mr. Newsom's office. They were the first of what Mr. Trump said would be at least 2,000 National Guard members being sent to deal with the demonstrations. Izzy Gardon, a spokesman for Mr. Newsom, said the soldiers were deployed after Mr. Trump credited them with having turned the situation around.

Armed and in camouflage, the troops arrived on Sunday at the start of what was expected to be a third consecutive day of demonstrations over the administration's recent raids on workplaces in search of undocumented immi-

## As College Students Move Out, Scavengers Get Ready to Cash In

By ALEXANDER NAZARYAN

Valentino sneakers that retail for \$980. A Tovala toaster oven, originally \$390. A Clear Home Design Lucite table, which would have cost \$899 — except in this case, it was free.

Lena Geller found those items, and many others, in the trash room of her apartment building in Durham, N.C., after scores of Duke University students had moved out at the end of the spring semester.

"It feels wrong for this much stuff to have been thrown out," Ms. Geller wrote in an article for INDY Week, where she's a staff writer. She kept a spreadsheet of the roughly 70 items she found in the trash, estimating, after doing some research, that they originally retailed for \$6,600 in total.

"I've had a few friends text me after reading the piece, like, 'We should put together some kind of business plan,'" Ms. Geller, 26, said in an interview. "It does feel like most of the stuff that I got was just sitting there. I do think there's a lot of money to be made."

Every year, as graduation season ends, many departing students throw away or simply abandon expensive household items



CORNELL WATSON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Lena Geller found \$6,600 worth of items in the trash room at her building near Duke University.

ware company founder, has been selling discarded books from college students for years. To him, and many other scavengers, col-

thousand dollars' worth of books from the campus recycling center. That was a big 'aha' moment, where I realized that this could be

had five-figure months.

Some scavengers post haul videos of their finds on social media. Late spring sees an explosion of

## Foiling Drones With Civilians And Old Guns

By CONSTANT MÉHEUT  
and DARIA MITIUK

PERELASLAV, Ukraine — Clad in khaki fatigues, the Ukrainian volunteers lounged on a concrete terrace as dusk swallowed the surrounding fields. Music trickled from a phone, mingling with bursts of laughter — a fleeting ease before what they had been warned would be a "hot night."

They were members of one of many civilian units guarding the skies around the capital, Kyiv, on a recent Saturday night, their job to shoot down incoming Russian drones using old machine guns supplied by the Ukrainian Army. As they do every night, the volunteers — university professors, builders, salesmen — stood ready at their base in Pereiaslav, a town 50 miles southeast of Kyiv, waiting for the signal to deploy.

At 11:35 p.m., Mykhailo's phone rang. He picked it up, then shouted, "Let's go!"

The chase was on. Mykhailo and the other two



# Weather Report

Meteorology by **AccuWeather**



Alternating light and dark bands show today's expected highs. Weather patterns shown as expected at noon today, Eastern time.



## National Forecast

Following an active day and night of severe weather across the southern Plains on Sunday, dangerous thunderstorms are expected to roam parts of Texas east to the Southeast Gulf and Atlantic coasts today. Flooding downpours, damaging winds and hail will all be possible. A few gusty storms can even extend north along the Appalachians and into western Pennsylvania.

Meanwhile, an area of high pressure will keep New England dry ahead of an influx of showers and thunderstorms beginning

Tuesday. Behind a cold front, a few showers and storms will move across the Upper Midwest as cooler air arrives from Canada. Behind these storms, a fresh influx of smoke from wildfires can cause hazy skies and poor air quality.

Dry weather will extend across much of the central and northern Plains across the northern Rockies and into the Northwest. It will be another very warm day in Oregon and Washington state, where record high temperatures can be challenged again.

In the central Rockies and Four Corners

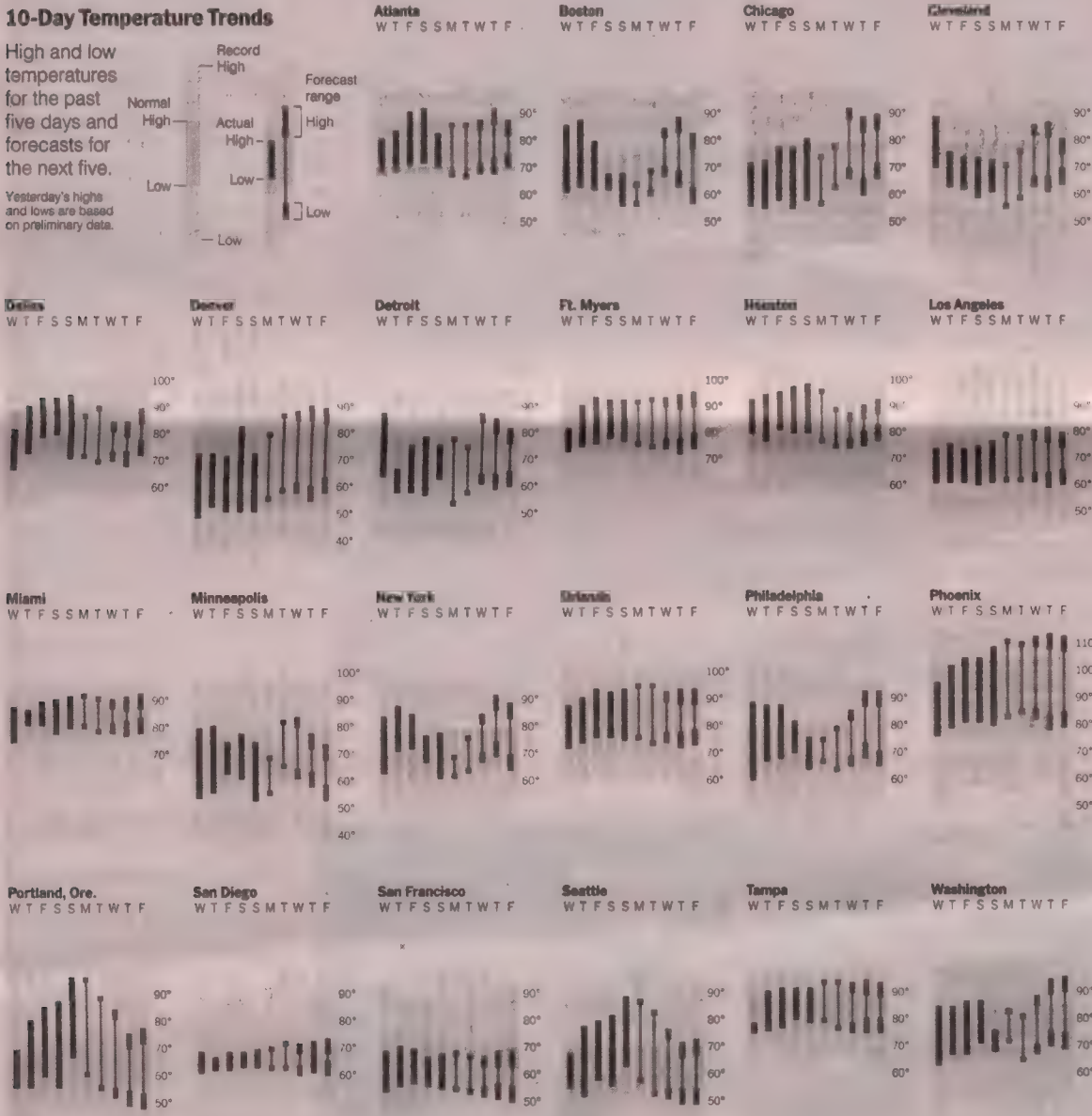
region, a few thunderstorms will move in with the daytime heating, while coastal California should remain dry after morning low clouds.

**FOCUS: NORTHWEST HEAT WAVE ENDS MIDWEEK** ..... A major pattern change is expected to take place across the Pacific Northwest during midweek. High pressure aloft, which will be responsible to the heat wave through the early week, will break down by midweek, giving way to a much cooler, Pacific air mass.

## 10-Day Temperature Trends

High and low temperatures for the past five days and forecasts for the next five.

Yesterday's highs and lows are based on preliminary data.



## Cities

High/low temperatures for the 16 hours ended at 4 p.m. yesterday, Eastern time, and precipitation (in inches) for the 16 hours ended at 4 p.m. yesterday. Expected conditions for today and tomorrow.

C	Clouds	S	Sun
F	Fog	Ss	Snow
H	Haze	SS	Snow showers
I	Ice	T	Thunderstorms
PC	Partly cloudy	Tr	Trace
R	Rain	W	Windy
Sh	Showers		Not available

N.Y.C. region	Yesterday	Today	Tomorrow
New York City	77/63 0.01	68/61 R	75/63 T
Bridgeport	73/61 0.01	66/61 R	69/64 T
Caldwell	77/61 0.02	69/63 R	77/80 T
Danbury	77/59 0.01	68/62 R	74/57 T
Islip	74/63 0.01	68/61 R	70/82 T
Newark	75/65 0.02	69/64 R	77/83 T
Trenton	74/62 0.04	68/62 R	72/80 T
White Plains	75/62 0.01	67/60 R	71/59 T

United States	Yesterday	Today	Tomorrow
Albany	80/60 0	72/62 Sh	72/58 T
Albuquerque	92/64 0	86/61 S	83/61 T
Anchorage	51/44 0.09	52/44 Sh	58/46 PC
Atlanta	82/69 0.04	85/67 T	85/66 T
Atlantic City	66/65 0	70/66 C	76/65 T
Austin	98/76 0	97/75 PC	91/72 T
Baltimore	74/66 0.03	81/69 PC	80/64 T
Baton Rouge	93/79 0	92/77 T	87/73 T
Bilings	77/52 0	90/64 S	87/59 PC
Birmingham	86/71 0.01	81/67 T	86/65 T
Boise	95/63 0	97/67 S	96/70 PC
Boston	67/55 0	63/56 C	68/60 Sh
Buffalo	76/62 0	73/60 T	70/57 T
Burlington	78/62 0	73/62 C	74/57 T
Casper	72/40 0	84/46 S	88/46 PC
Cedar Rapids	77/53 0	70/50 PC	83/60 PC
Champaign	80/57 0.04	79/53 PC	80/58 PC
Charleston, W.Va.	79/64 2.14	83/63 T	78/57 PC
Charlotte	88/67 Tr	88/71 PC	83/66 T
Chattanooga	88/65 0.01	87/66 T	84/64 PC
Chicago	80/57 0.03	73/56 T	77/82 PC
Cincinnati	78/62 0.35	71/56 T	75/57 PC
Cleveland	72/60 0.09	70/55 T	75/58 PC
Colorado Springs	76/52 0	72/51 T	80/54 PC
Columbia, Mo.	84/55 0	80/57 PC	81/59 PC
Columbia, S.C.	87/69 0.30	88/71 C	87/66 T
Columbus	77/63 0.55	72/57 T	77/58 PC
Concord, N.H.	75/53 0	71/55 C	68/56 Sh
Dallas-Ft. Worth	94/70 0	86/71 T	89/69 T
Dayton	78/65 1.19	75/56 T	75/59 PC
Denver	72/50 0	79/55 T	86/58 PC
Des Moines	72/58 0	73/55 W	85/61 T
Detroit	76/62 0	77/53 R	74/57 Sh
El Paso	108/72 0	102/71 S	96/68 S
Eugene	97/59 0.02	63/43 PC	66/46 C
Fairbanks	63/51 0	70/50 Sh	86/55 S
Fort Myers	92/76 0	91/75 T	92/74 T
Fresno	98/68 0	100/70 S	102/67 S
Gainesville, Fla.	93/73 0	92/72 T	91/70 T
Grand Rapids	80/58 0	73/53 T	73/59 PC
Greensboro	85/65 0.10	86/69 S	80/64 T
Greenville, S.C.	88/63 0.01	87/58 PC	85/65 T
Harrisburg	79/64 0.05	79/68 C	80/60 T
Hartford	79/60 0	70/60 R	72/58 T
Honolulu	88/73 0	86/74 Sh	88/75 Sh
Houston	98/79 0	95/76 T	88/74 T
Indianapolis	79/61 0.08	77/55 PC	77/58 PC
Jackson	87/72 0	86/69 T	87/68 T
Jacksonville	94/75 0	92/73 T	92/72 T
Johnstown, Pa.	64/60 0.33	77/60 T	71/55 T
Kansas City	82/54 0	78/55 PC	83/63 PC
Key West	89/82 0	89/82 S	88/83 T
Knoxville	84/83 0.02	84/64 T	80/60 PC
Lansing	77/58 0	72/51 T	74/67 PC
Las Vegas	108/80 0	107/83 S	106/85 S
Lexington	80/62 0.86	76/59 T	78/57 PC
Little Rock	93/73 0	84/67 T	91/68 PC
Los Angeles	76/60 0	78/61 PC	77/61 S
Louisville	82/67 Tr	75/61 T	81/63 PC
Lubbock	95/63 0	77/63 T	79/64 T
Madison	74/54 0.18	66/54 T	77/61 PC
Memphis	88/71 0	77/65 T	86/67 PC
Miami	91/79 0	91/80 Sh	90/78 Sh
Milwaukee	78/56 0	67/56 T	77/60 PC
Mpls.-St. Paul	74/52 0.10	68/55 Sh	81/65 PC
Mobile	91/75 0	90/72 T	86/71 T
Monterey, Calif.	66/54 0	65/53 PC	65/51 PC
Nashville	84/64 0	83/62 T	83/63 PC
New Orleans	94/79 0	93/77 T	87/76 T
Norfolk	81/71 0.11	86/73 T	83/70 T
Oklahoma City	91/63 0	86/64 C	84/64 PC
Omaha	68/54 0.04	75/55 W	88/62 S
Orlando	93/74 0	94/75 T	94/73 T
Philadelphia	75/63 Tr	74/66 C	78/63 T
Phoenix	108/79 0	110/82 S	109/84 S
Pittsburgh	68/62 0.65	78/60 T	75/58 T
Portland, Me.	72/54 0	65/53 PC	60/55 Sh
Portland, Ore.	96/66 0	96/80 C	88/55 PC
Providence	75/57 0	67/59 C	69/61 S
Raleigh	90/68 Tr	91/74 PC	88/66 T
Reno	95/65 0	95/65 S	96/62 S
Richmond	81/67 0.21	87/72 C	84/65 T
Rochester	75/62 0	74/61 Sh	74/57 T
Sacramento	88/56 0	91/57 S	87/53 T
Salt Lake City	90/83 0	92/69 S	96/69 PC
San Antonio	99/77 0	98/76 T	93/75 T
San Diego	69/62 0	68/62 PC	71/62 PC
San Francisco	67/54 0	67/54 PC	66/53 PC
San Jose	77/57 0	77/58 PC	77/53 PC
San Juan	89/77 0.02	88/78 T	89/78 T
Savannah	86/71 0	86/73 T	87/71 T
Seattle	88/62 0	86/57 S	82/52 S
Shreveport	91/74 0.03	88/71 T	92/72 T

Sloux Falls	75/52 0	71/51 PC	90/61 S
South Bend	79/57 0.19	76/53 T	74/57 PC
Spokane	89/63 0	96/66 S	93/63 PC
St. Louis	85/61 0.01	82/60 PC	83/64 PC
St. Thomas	89/79 0.06	90/80 C	90/79 Sh
Syracuse	91/61 0	76/64 T	78/59 T
Tampa	91/78 0	93/79 C	93/76 T
Toledo	76/62 0	77/53 R	76/56 PC
Tucson	104/71 0	106/72 S	104/73 S
Tulsa	93/63 0	86/63 PC	87/67 PC
Virginia Beach	78/70 0.35	84/74 T	79/69 T
Waco	95/74 0	87/71 T	87/68 T
Washington	75/67 0.04	82/71 PC	80/64 T
West Palm Beach	93/78 0	92/80 C	91/78 Sh
Wichita	87/56 0	83/56 S	88/65 PC
Wilkes-Barre	79/60 0	75/64 C	77/55 T
Wilmington, Del.	72/64 Tr	76/66 C	78/60 T

Africa	Yesterday	Today	Tomorrow
Abidjan	86/75 0.05	87/77 T	85/77 T
Algiers	92/68 0	87/65 S	89/65 S
Cairo	95/73 0	97/73 PC	97/73 PC
Cape Town	59/46 0.03	64/44 S	64/42 S
Casablanca	83/64 0	86/67 PC	80/63 PC
Dakar	82/74 0	84/78 PC	85/75 S
Johannesburg	63/38 0	54/33 Sh	53/31 PC
Nairobi	77/55 0	72/58 T	75/58 S
Tunis	93/72 0	92/69 T	91/66 S

Asia/Pacific	Yesterday	Today	Tomorrow
Almaty	85/64 0.02	92/69 PC	87/62 T
Auckland	57/41 0.12	63/49 Sh	62/57 R
Baghdad	113/79 0	112/83 S	113/82 S
Bali	86/75 0.24	88/79 Sh	87/79 Sh
Bangkok	93/83 0.04	94/80 R	91/80 R
Beijing	93/63 0	89/65 PC	92/65 PC
Damascus	99/61 0	100/65 S	102/67 S
Dhaka	96/80 0.01	94/81 S	94/82 T
Hanoi	94/79 0.31	89/78 R	85/78 C
Hong Kong	92/80 0	92/81 T	93/82 S
Islamabad	118/82 0	111/83 S	111/84 S
Jakarta	90/75 0	92/77 T	91/78 T
Jerusalem	86/64 0	84/64 S	86/65 S
Karachi	93/82 0	96/84 W	95/84 W
Kolkata	98/84 0.02	97/82 PC	97/82 PC
Kuala Lumpur	97/82 0.14	92/76 T	90/78 C
Lahore	117/88 0	116/89 PC	114/88 PC
Manila	88/77 0.24	89/78 R	89/78 T
Melbourne	54/44 0.36	56/45 R	57/42 R
Mumbai	90/79 0.04	92/82 Sh	92/82 T
New Delhi	108/84 0	109/88 S	109/87 C
Riyadh	108/78 0	110/83 PC	113/83 PC
Seoul	87/68 0	85/63 PC	77/60 C
Shanghai	80/73 1.72	77/72 Sh	77/71 C
Singapore	88/73 0.04	91/79 T	88/79 Sh
Sydney	64/48 0	59/55 W	65/51 W
Taipei City	91/79 0.01	96/78 R	98/79 R
Tehran	83/61 0	83/67 C	86/67 C
Tel Aviv	87/70 0	83/72 S	83/73 S
Tokyo	82/68 0.09	76/67 C	74/70 R
Vladivostok	67/56 0	64/54 S	60/54 Sh

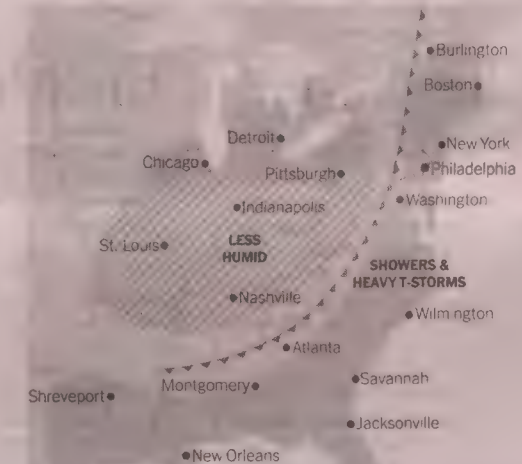
Europe	Yesterday	Today	Tomorrow
Amsterdam	60/53 1.06	66/56 PC	63/52 R
Athens	93/72 0	90/76 PC	91/76 S
Barcelona	75/68 0	80/68 S	81/70 PC
Belgrade	93/68 0	76/54 S	81/62 S
Berlin	71/54 0.13	66/52 PC	65/53 Sh
Brussels	62/52 0.06	69/54 PC	69/54 C
Budapest	88/57 0.14	73/48 PC	81/58 PC
Copenhagen	62/52 0.24	63/51 PC	59/49 R
Dublin	59/43 0.12	62/49 R	65/54 C
Edinburgh	61/42 0.02	58/49 R	67/49 C
Frankfurt	66/55 0.36	71/49 PC	75/53 C
Geneva	72/62 0.02	74/50 S	80/55 S
Helsinki	68/52 0	61/51 Sh	66/47 C
Istanbul	81/68 0	83/67 S	83/68 S
Kyiv	92/69 0	77/54 S	70/54 C
Liebon	90/61 0	86/63 S	75/62 Sh
London	64/48 0	67/56 C	72/56 C
Madrid	93/57 0	97/63 PC	90/59 PC
Moscow	79/69 0.03	81/53 T	89/61 S
Nice	82/66 0	79/69 S	86/47 C
Oso	60/46 0.21	66/46 PC	62/45 S
Paris	68/54 0	75/52 PC	79/56 PC
Prague	67/54 0.18	65/45 C	71/53 C
Rome	84/72 0	82/63 S	83/65 S
St. Petersburg	65/57 0.47	60/52 Sh	63/53 Sh
Stockholm	67/43 0	60/47 Sh	58/44 Sh
Vienna	72/61 0.99	71/51 S	79/60 C
Warsaw	70/59 0.04	63/46 Sh	69/53 C

North America	Yesterday	Today	Tomorrow
Acapulco	83/77 0.73	91/77 C	90/76 T
Bermuda	82/75 0	83/74 S	83/74 S
Calgary	64/45 0	80/49 S	78/52 PC
Edmonton	63/37 0	79/41 S	75/53 S
Guadalajara	81/67 0.04	90/68 PC	90/68 PC
Havana	90/78 0	92/72 R	92/71 R
Kingston	91/78 0	91/80 W	91/80 W
Marigot	91/79 0.02	89/79 R	89/79 Sh
Mexico City	76/58 0	84/60 PC	81/60 PC
Monterrey	89/70 0	96/73 PC	91/70 T
Nassau	89/78 0	89/78 Sh	88/78 T
Panama City	87/75 0.11	85/75 R	85/76 R
Quebec City	71/50 0	80/55 PC	66/56 T
Santo Domingo	90/73 0	87/73 T	72/74 PC
Toronto	70/55 0	68/58 W	72/57 T
Vancouver	67/57 0	68/55 W	68/53 PC
Winnipeg	56/50 0.08	65/50 Sh	77/48 W

South America	Yesterday	Today	Tomorrow
Bogota	64/52 0.02	64/52 R	63/50 R
Buenos Aires	56/50 0	56/46 PC	59/50 S
Caracas	88/75 0.04	90/76 PC	90/74 R
Lima	65/62 Tr	68/60 PC	68/62 C
Quito	65/49 0	67/49 R	65/49 R
Recife	84/74 0.10	86/76 PC	86/78 PC
Rio de Janeiro	80/69 0	73/67 R	72/65 R
Santiago	60/36 0	71/38 PC	75/42 PC
Sao Paulo	71/63 0.03	64/55 R	63/52 PC

## Highlight: Showers and Heavy Thunderstorms Tuesday

Showers and thunderstorms will be widespread from New England to the Gulf Coast on Tuesday as the leading edge of less humid air advances east toward the coast. In areas where there are repeating storms, there is the potential for flash flooding and travel disruptions. A few of the storms may turn severe with damaging, straight-line winds. The Middle Atlantic and Northeast will be drier by Wednesday.





# International

The New York Times

## A Missile-Ready Japan Flexes Its Military Muscle at China, and Trump

By MARTIN FACKLER

OKINAWA, Japan — The ship-slaying missiles of the Japanese army's Seventh Regiment are mounted aboard dark green trucks that are easy to move and conceal, but for now, the soldiers are making no effort to hide them. Created a year ago, the fledgling regiment and its moving missile batteries occupy a hilltop base on the island of Okinawa that can be seen for miles.

The visibility is intentional. The Seventh is one of two new missile regiments that the army, called the Ground Self-Defense Force, has placed along the islands on Japan's southwestern flank in response to an increasingly robust Chinese navy that frequently sails through waters near Japan.

"Our armaments are a show of force to deter an enemy from coming," said Col. Yohei Ito, the regiment's commander.

China is not their only target. The display is also for the United States, and particularly President Trump, who has criticized Japan for relying too heavily on the presence of American military bases for its security.

The missiles are part of a defense buildup that is central to Japan's strategy for appealing to President Trump. While Tokyo is now deep in negotiations with Washington over lifting new tariffs, its top priority is improving security ties. On Friday, Japan's trade envoy, Ryosei Akazawa, met for two and a half hours in Washington with Treasury Secretary Scott Bessent and Howard Lutnick, the secretary of commerce, for talks on a tariff-lifting deal that will probably see Tokyo promise large purchases of energy, computer chips and weapons.

By adding new missiles and other advanced weapons, both American-made and domestically developed, Japan is transforming its long-restricted military into a potent force with the skills and technology to operate alongside America's ships and soldiers, to demonstrate that Japan is an indispensable partner.

"We want to be sure the U.S. has our backs, and enhancing our conventional military capabilities is the way to do that," said Nobukatsu Kanehara, who was deputy head of national security policy from 2014 to 2019 under then-prime minister Shinzo Abe. "We want to show President Trump that we are a valuable and essential ally."

Given the growing military strength of nearby China and also North Korea, Japan wants to upgrade the defense alliance with the United States by becoming a fuller-fledged military partner and moving further from the pacifism enshrined in its Constitution adopted after World War II.

With the war in Ukraine stirring fears of a similar Chinese move on the democratic island of Taiwan, Japan announced in 2022 it would double spending on national security to about 2 percent of gross domestic product. The resulting defense buildup is now underway.

Japan is buying expensive weapon systems from the United States like the F-35B stealth fighter and Tomahawk cruise missiles that will give Japan the ability to strike targets on enemy soil for the first time since 1945.

The spending is also revitalizing Japan's own defense industry. At a trade show last month near Tokyo, Japanese manufacturers displayed weapons currently under development, including a hypersonic missile, a laser system for shooting down drones, and a jet fighter to be built with Italy and Britain.

Japan is also demonstrating a new resolve to fight alongside the United States during a future crisis. When he visited Tokyo this spring, Defense Secretary Pete Hegseth praised a plan to create a new "war-fighting headquarters" in Tokyo where Japanese and American commanders will work side by side.

"During our discussions, I told him how Japan is making our own strong efforts to drastically strengthen our defense capabilities," Gen Nakatani, the Japanese defense minister, said after meeting with Mr. Hegseth. "We face the most severe security environment that



Japan's Ground Self-Defense Force soldiers of the Seventh Regiment going through physical tests at Camp Katsuren in Okinawa, Japan, last month. "Our armaments are a show of force to deter an enemy from coming," said Col. Yohei Ito, below left, the regiment's commander. Below right, soldiers testing a drone.



### 'We need to convince Mr. Trump and the MAGA camp that Japan is too good to give away.'

SATORU MORI, professor of international politics at Keio University in Tokyo, who said it was in America's interest not to let Japan fall into China's sphere.

Japan has encountered since the end of the war."

It has been made even more severe by the uncertainty from Washington. While Japan's leaders and policymakers see strong support from Mr. Hegseth and other hard-liners on China like Secretary of State Marco Rubio, they remain worried about America First isolationists who could try to pull back the U.S. military in Asia.

There is also the unpredictability of Mr. Trump himself. Their biggest fear is that the president might suddenly strike a grand strategic deal with China's leader, Xi Jinping, that would cede Japan and its neighbors to Beijing's sphere of influence.

"We need to convince Mr. Trump and the MAGA camp that Japan is too good to give away," said Satoru Mori, a professor of international politics at Keio University in Tokyo. "It's in the U.S. interest not to let Japan fall into China's sphere."

The Chinese government has criticized Japan's acquisition of offensive weapons as a return to wartime militarism.

As China and North Korea tilt the

power balance by building up their nuclear arsenals, Japanese policymakers are also asking the United States to show its commitment. There have been growing calls for Washington to make a visible deployment of tactical nuclear weapons in the region to discourage potential foes from using theirs.

"The U.S. is indispensable to us by providing nuclear deterrence," said Koichi Isobe, a retired lieutenant general in the Japanese army who is now a senior fellow at Sasakawa Peace Foundation USA.

Japan is hedging its bets by reaching out to other partners. In addition to the fighter plane jointly developed with Britain and Italy, it has strengthened defense relations with Australia, offering to sell it advanced Japanese-made frigates. Tokyo also sent a warship and soldiers to the Philippines last month to join a multinational military exercise for the first time.

If Washington proves unreliable, Japan has an ultimate fallback: tons of plutonium stockpiled from its civilian nuclear power industry, which it could use to build a nuclear arsenal of its own. So far, the national trauma from the 1945 atomic

bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki has kept such an option off the table.

"We need to think about a Plan B, if the U.S. does withdraw from Asia," said Kazuto Suzuki, director of the Institute of Geoeconomics, a Tokyo-based think tank.

For now, Plan A means keeping the United States at its side. Camp Katsuren, home of the Seventh Regiment and its missile batteries, sits next to the largest U.S. Navy base on Okinawa, the semitropical island that hosts most of the 50,000 U.S. troops in Japan.

Since the regiment was created, U.S. Marines have begun visiting to observe its drills and study the Japanese-made Type-12 missiles, which can hit a ship more than 100 miles away. The Americans are eager to learn as they prepare to deploy their own land-based anti-ship missiles in Okinawa, part of a shift in strategy to challenge China's growing forces.

"Japan has capabilities that the U.S. military didn't have before now," said Colonel Ito, the Japanese commander. "There are things that we can teach them."



## POLICY | COMPANIES

# Trump's Tax Cut Plan Has Sparked Revival Of U.S. Debt Politics

FROM FIRST BUSINESS PAGE

Mr. Trump's domestic policy bill, which includes the tax cuts. The proposal is expected to add \$2.4 trillion to the debt over the next decade, according to an estimate from the nonpartisan Congressional Budget Office.

But that price tag does not include an additional \$551 billion in costs that the United States would have to incur to sustain that level of borrowing, congressional scorekeepers predicted on Thursday, as they warned that debt held by the public would total nearly 124 percent of the nation's gross domestic product by 2034 if the bill were to become law.

The figures have exposed disagreements among Republicans that have been papered over in recent years, and have contributed to growing unease on Wall Street over the extent to which the White House may exacerbate the sort of borrowing Mr. Trump has promised to reduce.

Over the last few decades, Republicans have largely adopted the posture that it is worth running short-term deficits to cut taxes. Under Mr. Trump, who embraced debt when he was a real estate developer, party lawmakers have maintained that economic growth spurred by lower taxes eventually offsets negative fiscal effects.

Democrats have often made a similar case about spending on education, health care and other services that they argue are investments to make the economy more competitive.

Worried about the Treasury's ability to pay its creditors, investors have recently demanded more favorable terms — measured in higher yields — to buy up government debt. Those same concerns led Moody's Ratings last month to downgrade the country's credit rating.

Normally, the nervousness in the bond market would jolt Washington, since higher yields translate to higher borrowing costs for average consumers.

Lately, though, Mr. Trump and other Republicans have swatted away the pessimism, opting to attack economists for what they have argued were flawed projections. While their reasoning and priorities differ in fundamental ways, figures such as Elon Musk and Senator Elizabeth Warren, the Massachusetts Democrat, have cited the perilous fiscal effects of Mr. Trump's legislation in opposing it.

"Cut all the crazy spending increases in the Big Ugly Bill so that America doesn't go bankrupt!"

Mr. Musk said in a post on X on Thursday, as he escalated his feud with Mr. Trump.

Mark Zandi, the chief economist at Moody's Analytics, described recent economic conditions as "fragile" in a nation that periodically flirts with bouts of austerity, sometimes yielding grand bargains that constrain federal spending.

But this time, in an era of extreme partisan polarization, Mr. Zandi said there is little appetite for compromise, making it difficult for policymakers to confront urgent fiscal challenges.

"I actually think it's going to be very difficult, if not impossible, to be able to collectively come together and address our long-term fiscal situation without pressure from somewhere," he said.

The fiscal reckoning arrives at a moment of considerable uncertainty for the United States. The worst consequences — including a spiral in which borrowing becomes more costly, forcing the government to incur more and expensive debt — still appear unlikely.

On Thursday, Mr. Trump maintained that the legislation included the "biggest cut in the history of our country," referring to its inclusion of \$1.7 trillion in new savings primarily from cuts to federal programs that aid the poor. He also pointed to a separate report issued last week by nonpartisan congressional analysts that indicated the tariffs he is imposing could reduce the debt by about \$3 trillion over the next decade.

The report also found that the duties on imports could slow the economy and cause consumer prices to spike. And the potential surge in revenues would depend on the sky-high tariffs remaining in place well beyond Mr. Trump's term — and regardless of whether he agrees to deals with other countries meant to lower trade barriers.

Still, the president said that his agenda would deliver a "tremendous surplus."

Mr. Trump and many Republicans campaigned last year on reducing federal spending. They argued that the government had become bloated and wasteful after Congress marshaled more than \$5 trillion in pandemic stimulus, including aid packages signed by Mr. Trump.

"There's a political alignment that comes often after major deficit binges that tend to occur during crises," said Romina Boccia, the director of budget and entitlement policy at the libertarian



The question of whether the nation can afford to remain on its current path is complicating efforts to nail down support for President Trump's legislation.

Cato Institute.

Ms. Boccia said that the pandemic spending crystallized the policy divides between the two parties, as Democrats argued that the magnitude of cuts that Republicans began to endorse would destabilize government services — and that the nation's fiscal woes would be better solved with higher taxes on the wealthy.

Even before Republicans won control of Washington last November, economists had warned that Mr. Trump's agenda could raise deficits by trillions of dollars. Yet the full impact of their tax plan did not become clear until Wednesday, when nonpartisan budget analysts confirmed the bill would add considerably to the debt by extending and expanding the tax cuts that Mr. Trump first secured in 2017.

Some of those cuts were originally designed to expire this year, a move meant to hold down the projected costs of the tax package and address the concerns of fiscal hawks. But the budget ploy only forced Republicans to revive the debate later, as they now seek to make the bulk of the federal income tax cuts permanent.

"Even in 2017, Republicans talked a lot about deficit concerns," said Jessica Riedl, a senior fellow at the Manhattan Institute who has advised Republican policymakers. "They still passed the \$1.5 trillion tax cuts."

Then and now, Ms. Riedl said, the party had viewed the cost of its

agenda as "more of a communications challenge than an economic problem."

With new cost estimates in hand, a handful of conservative Republicans began to revolt last week, saying they had squandered an opportunity to meet their own promises about fiscal discipline.

Representative Thomas Massie, Republican of Kentucky, described the legislation as a ticking "debt bomb," a comment later recirculated by Mr. Musk, who had called it a "debt slavery bill" as he vowed to help defeat it.

Democrats similarly piled on. Senator Chuck Schumer of New York, the Democratic minority leader, said the bill betrayed "years of Republicans decrying that the debt and deficit are the most urgent crises faced by our nation." Ms. Warren described its price tag as "even worse than we thought."

As the White House scrambled to defend the measure, financial markets remained unconvinced. While bond prices tumbled on Wednesday because of a weak jobs report, Treasury yields have remained high under Mr. Trump, especially after he imposed global tariffs. The fluctuations have suggested a new reticence among investors about lending Washington money.

Michael R. Strain, the director of economic policy studies at the American Enterprise Institute, said the tumult underscored

"growing concerns about the competence of Congress and the White House," as many investors have begun to ask: "Is the United States government up to managing this?"

Decades earlier, a set of similar forces — skittishness in the bond market and high interest rates — pushed President Bill Clinton to alter his policies. So-called bond vigilantes forced the Democratic administration to focus more on

## Warnings of fiscal imbalance the G.O.P. had vowed to tame.

deficit reduction, which along with a strong economy and a technology boom helped to produce the first budget surplus the United States had seen in a generation.

"The only way policymakers get their act together is if they are forced into it, and the only forcing mechanism is the bond markets," said Kent Smetters, an economist at the University of Pennsylvania's Wharton School.

An unexpected surge in bond yields earlier this spring even prompted Mr. Trump to scale back some of his trade ambitions, as the president acknowledged the market was getting "yippy" from his tariffs.

Once Mr. Clinton left office, it took a series of other fiscal crises

to deliver agreements that reduced federal spending. A standoff between Speaker John Boehner and President Barack Obama in 2011 nearly brought the nation to default before the two parties brokered a deal that forced steep federal spending cuts, which Democrats and Republicans later saw as unnecessarily blunt and painful.

At the heart of the standoff was a need to raise the government's debt limit, which specifies how much it may borrow to pay for previously approved spending. The United States is once again rapidly approaching that cap under Mr. Trump, who has looked to raise the cap as part of his tax bill while calling on lawmakers to abolish it entirely. The president has said that he hopes to avoid the sort of standoff he had previously encouraged to secure spending cuts.

"It is too devastating to be put the hands of politicians for the horrendous effect it could have on our Country and, indirectly, even the World," Mr. Trump posted on social media.

Richard Francis, the co-head of the America's Sovereigns Rating Group at Fitch Ratings, said last week he still did not "see any meaningful willingness by the administration or Congress to tackle these deficits."

"It's just gradually inching up and up and up, from a pretty high level already," he said.

## Epstein's Estate Is Reaping Millions From Investments in Thiel's Firm

FROM FIRST BUSINESS PAGE

suicide in federal custody while awaiting trial on sex-trafficking charges.

Mr. Epstein's investment with Mr. Thiel's firm has not been previously reported or publicly disclosed.

There's a good chance much of the windfall will not go to any of the roughly 200 victims whom the disgraced financier abused when they were teenagers or young women. Those victims have already received monetary settlements from the estate, which required them to sign broad releases that gave up the right to bring

ernment to seize assets suspected of being involved in an illegal action. In theory, some of the seized assets could have been used to compensate victims.

After Mr. Epstein's death, federal prosecutors considered bringing a civil forfeiture action against his estate. But the authorities rejected the idea because the process may have delayed settlement payments to victims, said a person who was briefed on the

It is unlikely the funds will go to any of the

Andrew McCormack and James Fitzgerald, "hopes that the eventual distribution of these investments can be put to positive use by helping victims move forward with their lives."

Jeremiah Hall, a spokesman for Mr. Thiel, declined to comment.

Through a representative, the co-executors of Mr. Epstein's estate declined to comment.

At the moment, the estate's investment with Valar remains locked up, meaning it cannot be paid out in cash. Investments with venture capital firms are normally subject to long periods of lockup to give the companies that are being funded time to





"All the News  
That's Fit to Print"

# The New York Times

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TUESDAY, JUNE 10, 2025

Prices in Canada may be higher

\$4.00

## THE WEATHER

Showers and thunderstorms are expected today along the East Coast and down into states on the Gulf Coast. It will be mainly dry elsewhere. Weather map is on Page B12.

## Democrats See Some Positives In Trump's Bill

### They Like Tax-Exempt Tips and Overtime

By ANDREW DUEHREN

WASHINGTON — Democrats have no shortage of criticism for the sprawling Republican policy bill winding its way through Congress carrying President Trump's agenda. It would cost too much, they contend, rip health coverage and food assistance away from too many people and strip vital support from clean energy companies.

When it comes to some of the tax cuts in the bill, however, Democrats have been less resistant. Some of them concede that they would support many of those provisions if they were not rolled into the larger piece of legislation. In recent weeks, they have taken pains to demonstrate that support.

Last month, Senator Jacky Rosen, Democrat of Nevada, successfully moved to have the Senate unanimously approve a version of Mr. Trump's "no tax on tips" proposal. While the effort was almost entirely symbolic — under the Constitution, the House must originate tax measures — it was still an opportunity for Democrats to go on the record backing a campaign promise of Mr. Trump's that is broadly popular with the public.

"I am not afraid to embrace a good idea, wherever it comes from," Ms. Rosen said on the Senate floor at the time.

The undercurrent of Democratic support for elements of the Republican tax agenda reflects the political potency of some of Mr. Trump's campaign promises, even those that have been derided by tax policy experts. It also suggests that temporary provisions in the Republican bill, like exempting tips and overtime pay

Continued on Page A12



Protesters burned a Highway Patrol vehicle on Sunday after immigration raids in Los Angeles.

## NEWS ANALYSIS

## Trump Leaps at Chance For Clash in California

### Driving His Agenda and Defying a Rival

By TYLER PAGER

WASHINGTON — It is the fight President Trump had been waiting for, a showdown with a top political rival in a deep blue state over an issue core to his political agenda.

In bypassing the authority of Gov. Gavin Newsom of California, a Democrat, to call in the National Guard to quell protests in the Los Angeles area over his administration's efforts to deport more migrants, Mr. Trump is now pushing the boundaries of presidential authority and stoking criticism that he is inflaming the situation for political gain.

Local and state authorities had not sought help in dealing with the scattered protests that erupted after an immigration raid on Friday in the garment district. But Mr. Trump and his top aides leaned into the confrontation with California leaders on Sunday, portraying the demonstrations as an existential threat to the country — setting in motion an aggressive federal response that in turn sparked new protests across the city.

As more demonstrators took to the streets, the president wrote on social media that Los Angeles was being "invaded and occupied" by "violent, insurrectionist mobs," and directed three of his top cabinet officials to take any actions necessary to "liberate Los Angeles from the Migrant Invasion."

"Nobody's going to spit on our police officers. Nobody's going to spit on our military," Mr. Trump told reporters as he headed to Camp David on Sunday, although it was unclear whether any such incidents had occurred. "That happens, they get hit very hard."

The president declined to say whether he planned to invoke the

1807 Insurrection Act, which allows for the use of federal troops on domestic soil to quell a rebellion. But either way, he added, "we're going to have troops everywhere."

Stephen Miller, the White House deputy chief of staff, posted on social media that "this is a fight to save civilization."

Mr. Trump's decision to deploy at least 2,000 members of the California National Guard is the latest example of his willingness and, at times, an eagerness to shatter norms to pursue his political goals and bypass limits on presidential power. The last president to send in the National Guard for a domestic operation without a request from the state's governor, Lyndon B. Johnson, did so in 1965, to protect civil rights demonstrators in Alabama.

But aides and allies of the president say the events unfolding in Los Angeles provide an almost perfect distillation of why Mr. Trump was elected in November.

"It could not be clearer," said Newt Gingrich, the former Republican House speaker and ally of the president who noted that Mr. Trump had been focused on immigration enforcement since 2015. "One side is for enforcing the law and protecting Americans, and the other side is for defending illegals and being on the side of the people who break the law."

Sporadic protests have occurred. Continued on Page A10

**STANDOFF** California plans to sue the president over his deployment of the National Guard. PAGE A10

## Limits on Loans Could Intensify Doctor Shortfall

By RONI CARYN RABIN

President Trump's proposed budget would make deep cuts in government health plans and medical research, and, critics say, could also make finding a doctor more difficult. It restricts loans that students rely on to pursue professional graduate degrees, making the path to becoming a physician harder even as doctor shortages loom and the American population is aging.

The domestic policy bill, which passed in the House last month, would cap direct federal unsubsidized loans at \$150,000 — far less than the cost of obtaining a medical education — and phase out the Grad PLUS loans that help many students make up the difference.

Medicine, dentistry and osteopathic medicine are among the most expensive graduate programs.

Four years of medical education costs \$286,454 at a public school, on average, and \$390,848 at a private one, according to the Association of American Medical Colleges. Medical school graduates leave with an average debt of \$212,341, the association found.

The price of a four-year program in osteopathic medicine is

## On Tariffs, Swagger in Public and Pleas in Court

By TONY ROMM

WASHINGTON — Shortly after a federal trade court declared many of President Trump's tariffs to be illegal, Howard Lutnick, the commerce secretary, took to television to brush aside the setback.

"It cost us a week, maybe," Mr. Lutnick said this month on Fox News, adding that other countries remained eager to strike new deals despite tariffs being in legal jeopardy.

"Everybody came right back to the table," he added.

With the fate of the president's

### Trump Aides Projecting Dueling Narratives on Trade Policy

tariffs hanging in the balance, the Trump administration has tried to project dueling narratives. Top aides have insisted publicly that their negotiations remain unharmed, even as some of those same officials have pleaded with the court to spare Mr. Trump from reputational damage on the global

stage.

The strategy faced two crucial tests on Monday. Mr. Lutnick and other top advisers met with their Chinese counterparts in London in the hopes of hammering out a new trade deal, and lawyers for the administration were expected to urge a federal appeals court anew to keep its tariffs in place.

The court could factor in "any

Continued on Page A12

**TARIFF TALKS** U.S. and Chinese officials are attempting to resolve their trade differences. PAGE B1

## Life in Crimea: Sunny Beaches And Raid Sirens

This article is by Neil MacFarquhar, Milana Mazaeva and Anna Lukinova.

Every month, Ukraine unleashes three or four attacks on the Crimea bridge. The latest one, last week, used underwater explosives to try to damage the support structure, Ukraine said.

Each salvo forces the bridge to close, disrupting the main artery between the Russian mainland and the Black Sea peninsula for up to seven hours. While official information is scarce, a channel on the Telegram app warns motorists to avoid crossing, as it did during another recent attack, because a "hail of shrapnel" peppers the bridge when Russia's considerable air defenses blast Ukrainian drones.

Ever since Russia seized Crimea in 2014 in a preview of its full-scale invasion of Ukraine eight years later, the peninsula has been a focal point of the conflict between the countries.

Moscow says its conquest righted a historical wrong, and it demanded in cease-fire negotiations in Istanbul last week that any settlement include international recognition of Russian con-

## Russia Is Wary Of Xi's China, Spy File Shows

This article is by Jacob Judah, Paul Sonne and Anton Troianovski.

In public, President Vladimir V. Putin of Russia says his country's growing friendship with China is unshakable — a strategic military and economic collaboration that has entered a golden era.

But in the corridors of Lubyanka, the headquarters of Russia's domestic security agency, known as the F.S.B., a secretive intelligence unit refers to the Chinese as "the enemy."

This unit, which has not previously been disclosed, has warned that China is a serious threat to Russian security. Its officers say that Beijing is increasingly trying to recruit Russian spies and get its hands on sensitive military technology, at times by luring disaffected Russian scientists.

The intelligence officers say that China is spying on the Russian military's operations in Ukraine to learn about Western weapons and warfare. They fear that Chinese academics are laying the groundwork to make claims on Russian territory. And they have warned that Chinese intelligence agents are carrying out espionage in the Arctic using mining





3 CLIMATE

Atmospheric thirst and its role in making droughts bigger and more severe.

6 WELL

New research finds ties between drinking coffee and healthy aging.



8 MATH, REVEALED

Move over Euclid: There's a geometry that follows the rules of the taxicab.

SCIENCE | MEDICINE | TECHNOLOGY | HEALTH

# ScienceTimes

The New York Times

TUESDAY, JUNE 10, 2025 D1

EG Y



Spreading fertilizer on soil cleared of weeds using paraquat in Paramaribo, Suriname's capital and largest city. The chemical is banned in the European Union, China and elsewhere.

ALESSANDRO FALCO FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

## A Killer Within Easy Reach

Pesticides are a leading means of suicide, and there is a push in Suriname to ban one of the most grave.

By TED ALCORN

for weed control that is lethal to humans in amounts as small as one swallow.

Now, a handful of researchers and philanthropists are pushing to change that, arguing that restricting access to the most lethal pesticides could be one of the simplest, most cost-effective ways to save lives.

Paraquat, one of the deadliest pesticides

That often leaves time for people who ingest it in a moment of despair to come to regret their decision, according to Dr. Esther Fong, an emergency physician at Suriname's busiest hospital. "You see the death written on their foreheads," she said "but



MATH, REVEALED

# Taxicab Geometry

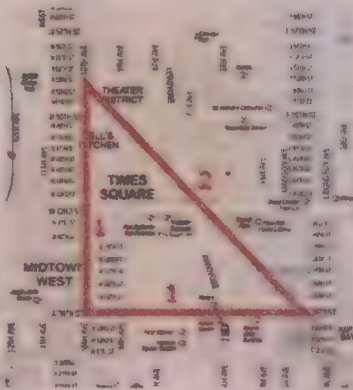
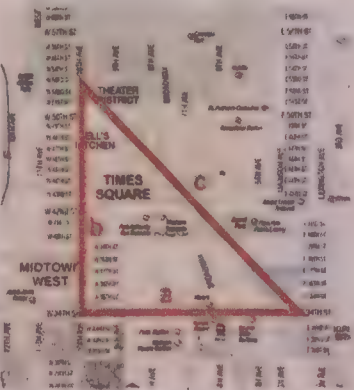
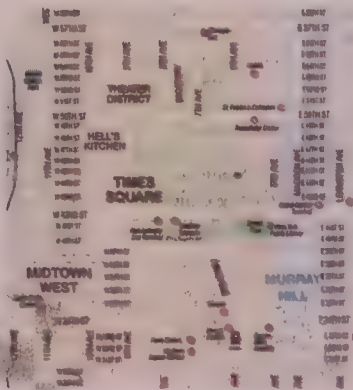
Welcome to a city where pi equals 4 and circles aren't round.

By STEVEN STROGATZ  
Photo Illustrations by JENS MORTENSEN  
Each installment of *Math, Revealed* will start with an object, uncover the math behind it and follow it to places you wouldn't expect.

The Etch A Sketch is a marvel of space-age technology. It's like a sheet of paper, a pencil, a portable table and an eraser all rolled into one.  
One knob draws horizontal lines on the screen. The other produces vertical lines.  
By turning both knobs simultaneously, you can draw diagonal lines or smooth curves.



From a mathematical perspective, an Etch A Sketch showcases a space in which two directions, horizontal and vertical, are favored above all others.

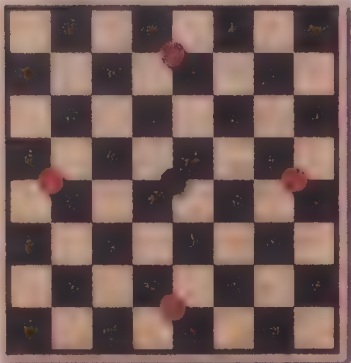


Anyone who has spent time in Manhattan will be familiar with a space like this. The cityscape is organized around two perpendicular directions: uptown/downtown and crosstown. Indeed, mathematicians use terms like Manhattan geometry or taxicab geometry to describe spaces like these. Here, the distance between two points is defined commonsensically as the sum of their horizontal and vertical separations.

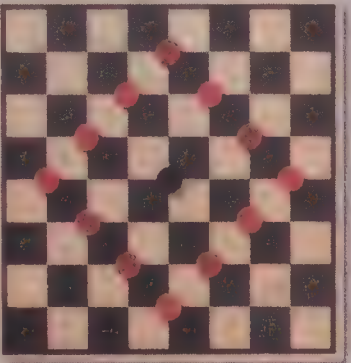
For example, suppose you're meeting a friend in the city and you have to go a mile crosstown and a mile uptown to get there by cab. Then it's natural to say that you have to travel  $1 + 1 = 2$  miles by taxi to get there. Of course, that's not how you learned to calculate distances in school. Back then, you used the Pythagorean theorem, the most important result in Euclidean geometry.

It says that in a right triangle, the length  $c$  of the hypotenuse satisfies  $a^2 + b^2 = c^2$ , where  $a$  and  $b$  are the lengths of the sides. This math would apply if all directions were equally available to you — say, if you were a crow flying overhead. Then you'd travel a diagonal distance  $c$ , equal to the square root of  $1^2 + 1^2 = c^2$  (or 2), since both  $a$  and  $b$  equal 1 mile. The square root of 2 is about 1.41 miles — that's  $c$  as the crow flies.

But on a grid ruled by taxicab geometry, where the roads are what matter, distance becomes much simpler:  $a + b = c$ . That boils down to  $1 + 1 = 2$  miles traveled by taxi, just as before. You have to admit: Taxicab geometry has its advantages! But it also leads to surprises.



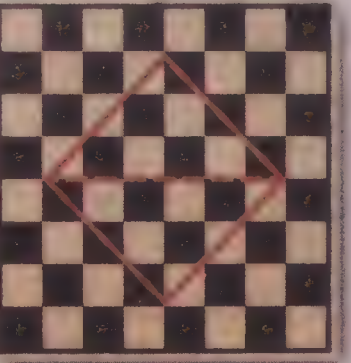
For instance, what does a circle of radius 3 look like in this grid-based geometry? To find out, let's start by drawing four red dots that are each 3 units away from a central black dot, as measured horizontally or vertically.



Those aren't the only points that are 3 units away from the center. All the new points shown also qualify since they're  $1 + 2 = 3$  units away.



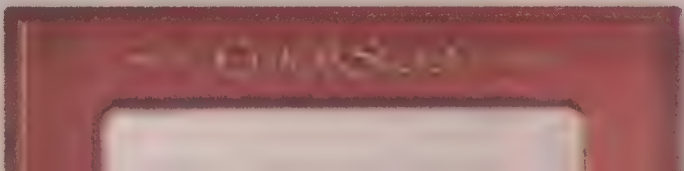
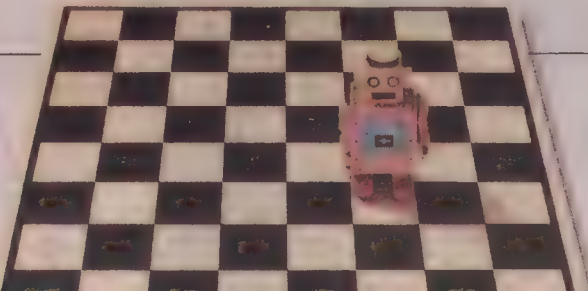
Points with horizontal plus vertical separations like  $1.38 + 1.62$  would also work, as long as the two numbers add up to 3. Connecting all the dots, we discover that a circle in taxicab geometry looks like a diamond. It has corners, and it's not round. One of my students shouted in protest when she realized this.



Even more surprising is the value of pi in this strange, non-Euclidean geometry. Recall that pi is defined as the ratio of the circumference of a circle to its diameter. To find the circumference, observe that our circle of radius 3 is composed of four arcs, the four sides of the diamond. Each arc is 6 taxicab units long, since it extends 3 units horizontally and 3 units vertically.



Taken together, those four arcs yield a circle of circumference  $4 \times 6 = 24$ . The diameter, for its part, is 6 units long, as shown by the red dashed line. Thus, the circumference divided by the diameter equals  $24/6$ , so pi equals 4 in taxicab geometry.





Nonalcoholic beer gaining popularity across globe

Experts point to growing health concerns as driver behind growing sales. **In Money**

White Sox feeling Rockies' pain: 'Just glad it's not us'

Off to one of the worst starts in MLB history, White Sox hope to break record. **In Sports**

What you missed from this year's Tony Awards

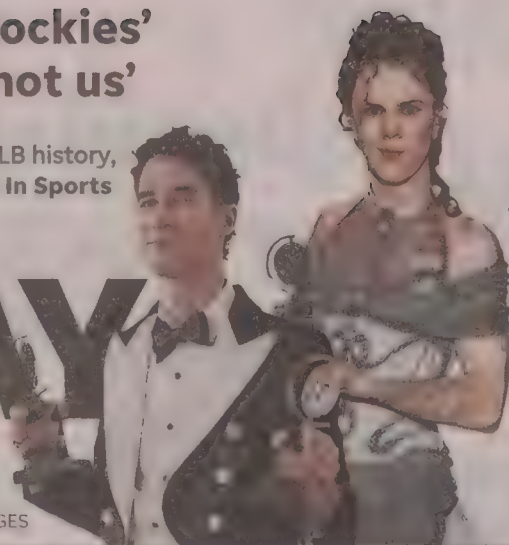
Romantic dramedy "Maybe Happy Ending" wins big prizes while Darren Criss, left, and Cole Escola are among night's highlights. **In Life**



USA TODAY

THE NATION'S NEWS | \$3 | TUESDAY, JUNE 10, 2025

CRISS BY CINDY ORD/GETTY IMAGES FOR TONY AWARDS PRODUCTIONS; ESCOLA BY KENA BETANCUR/AFP VIA GETTY IMAGES



## LOSING HOME

# With a knock at door, she no longer belonged

'Disenrollment' strips tribal members of roots, identity



"Before she died, my mom told me never to give up the fight," says Elizabeth Oshiro, photographed on April 1, the day she would be evicted from her home in Nooksack, Washington, by leaders of her own tribe. JASPER COLT/USA TODAY

## DEMING, WA

The knock came exactly at 5 p.m. on April 1. The loud bang-bang seemed to suck all the oxygen out of the three-bedroom, 1,200-square-foot ranch home. I watched as Elizabeth Oshiro shuddered, then took a deep breath, trying to reclaim some of that oxygen, before walking to the door. Oshiro, 56, knew the time had come to let go. She had to say goodbye to a house where she cared for her aging parents until they died. Goodbye to a house where she watched her four children, now adults, showered with love from those same grandparents. Goodbye to a house that meant so much more than four walls.

See **LOSING HOME**, Page 6A



Suzette Hackney  
National columnist  
USA TODAY

## ABOUT THIS SERIES

This is the first in the occasional series "Losing Home." USA TODAY columnist Suzette Hackney explores what "home" means and the trials and triumphs of those who have lost theirs, those fighting to stay and those seeking a new home.

# ICE raids met with growing protests

President's tactics spur community standoffs

Eduardo Cuevas  
USA TODAY

Happy hour patrons blocked unmarked vehicles on a San Diego street. Crowds massed outside New York immigration court. Students walked out of a Massachusetts high school. Labor organizers and others gathered outside worksite raids in Los Angeles.

As President Donald Trump works toward delivering on his promise to deport millions of immigrants, the administration's tough, new tactics are increasingly being met with community resistance.

The Department of Homeland Security has defended its workplace raids and individual arrests as necessary to get the job done. DHS leaders blame Democratic politicians and protesters for what they described — before the recent issues in Los Angeles — as a more than 400% increase in assaults on agents.

Immigrant advocates say the government's more aggressive tactics have gone too far and when agencies operate "in a rogue fashion," protesters will come out in force.

That boiled over on June 7, when

See **PROTESTS**, Page 4A

## More coverage online

Go to [usatoday.com](https://usatoday.com) to find the latest updates and developments on immigration raids and protests.



Transgender drag icon Aja says risks of harassment and detention have caused her to cancel international trips. SANTIAGO FELIPE/GETTY IMAGES

# Trump finds slogans can cut both ways

Bart Jansen  
USA TODAY

For trans and drag performers.



## Index maps out most, least welcoming LGBTQ+ states

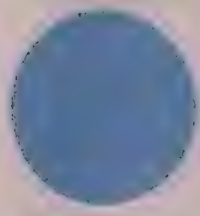
Gay and trans people say places where they feel safe to live and work are shrinking. **In Money**

## Caitlin Clark gets personal with Wilson basketball line

USA TODAY Sports gives behind-the-scenes look at collaboration, design process. **In Sports**

## Al Pacino tones down beard for horror film

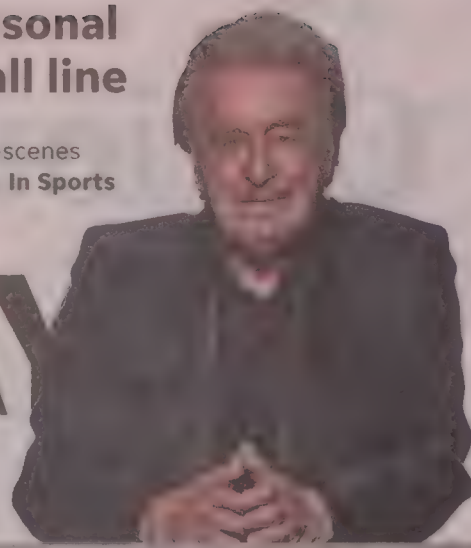
Oscar-winning actor says he couldn't bear to watch "The Exorcist" before making "The Ritual," a movie based on a true exorcism account. **In Life**



# USA TODAY

THE NATION'S NEWS | \$3 | MONDAY, JUNE 9, 2025

JEROD HARRIS/GETTY IMAGES FOR WARNER BROS. DISCOVERY



JUN 09 2025

## Going big on policy bill could backfire

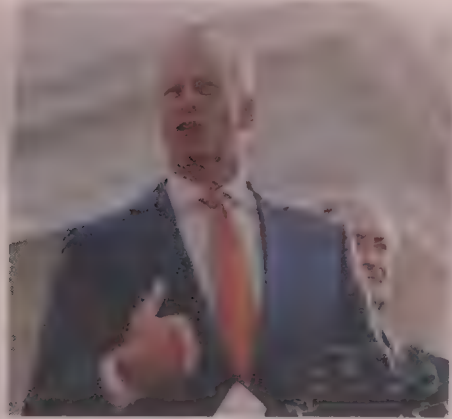
GOP discord could hurt its chances of passing

Bart Jansen and Riley Beggin  
USA TODAY

WASHINGTON — Will President Donald Trump's "big beautiful bill" go bust?

The second-term president's highest-priority legislation is under attack from some Senate Republicans — and from his former billionaire adviser Elon Musk — for costing too much. Complaints are also mounting from Republicans who are opposed to cutting Medicaid health insurance and other popular programs used by many Americans, especially as a way to help pay for tax breaks that would benefit some of the country's highest-income earners.

With Republicans holding the slimmest of majorities in both chambers of Congress and with Democrats showing no sign of wanting to help Trump notch a major win to begin his new administration, lawmakers from Trump's own party are sounding apprehensive about threading the needle before their self-imposed July 4 deadline to get something to the president's desk for signature into law.



Senate Majority Leader John Thune and other GOP leaders are getting complaints from Republicans about the bill. ANNA MONEYMAKER/GETTY IMAGES

"We're anxious to get to work on it," Senate Majority Leader John Thune, R-South Dakota, told reporters last week as Republicans and Musk started publicly airing their complaints about the effort.

Adding to the challenge: Some of the very House GOP members who last month voted in favor of their 1,100-page version of Trump's tax and policy plan started finding faults of their own that they say meant they'd probably

## Student taste testers sample food for school meals; survey results affect recommendations to districts



Skylor Avant, from Girls High in Philadelphia, reacts as she tastes empanadas and plantains at the Fuel Up Food Expo, where students tried different options for their school meals. PHOTOS BY WILLIAM CAIN FOR USA TODAY

## Making the grade with kids' palates



Burritos were among the foods at the expo, where participants rated each item to help shape menus for school breakfasts and lunches.

Phaedra Trethan USA TODAY

KING OF PRUSSIA, PA — Landon Cierniak was a little shy talking about what he liked at the Fuel Up Food Expo, but his classmate Declan Donnelly didn't hold back.

"I could eat pounds of this!" Declan said, holding up a sample size portion of macaroni and cheese from one of the half-dozen vendors at the expo, where students from Pennsylvania, New York and New Jersey got to try different options for school meals, tell their teachers and the host American Dairy Association North East what they liked (and disliked), and help shape what students in the region may see on cafeteria trays.

Landon and Declan, both fourth graders at Edgewood Elementary School in Yardley, Pennsylvania, were among about 175 elementary, middle and high school students who got to enjoy a day away from classes May 29. A DJ played dance music; the students got T-shirts, bags, stickers and other swag. And a celebrity guest — Philadelphia

See TASTE TESTERS, Page 2A



# THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

MAY 21 2025

DOW JONES | News Corp

WEDNESDAY, MAY 21, 2025 ~ VOL. CCLXXXV NO. 118

WSJ.com

★ ★ \$5.00

DJIA 42677.24 ▼ 114.83 0.27% NASDAQ 19142.71 ▼ 0.4% STOXX 600 554.02 ▲ 0.7% 10-YR. TREAS. ▼ 2/32, yield 4.479% OIL \$62.56 ▼ \$0.13 GOLD \$3,280.30 ▲ \$51.40 EURO \$1.1284 YEN 144.51

## What's News

### Business & Finance

- ◆ **Google** said it was overhauling its search engine to compete more directly with artificial-intelligence chatbots that threaten its core business. **A1**
- ◆ **Warby Parker** is collaborating with Google to develop AI-powered glasses. **B3**
- ◆ **Losses in Big Tech** weighed on major U.S. stock indexes, helping to depress both the S&P 500 and Nasdaq by 0.4% and the Dow by 0.3%. **B1**
- ◆ **Home Depot** said it intended to keep its prices steady and is working with suppliers to do the same despite tariff-imposed costs. **B1**
- ◆ **Levi Strauss** said it would sell Dockers to Authentic Brands for \$311 million as the company continues to take steps to center its image on its namesake brand. **B3**
- ◆ **Tesla** finance chief Vaibhav Taneja received a pay package of \$139 million last year, the most reportedly paid to a CFO since modern disclosure began. **B4**
- ◆ **Honda** plans to reduce its investment in electric vehicles by more than \$20 billion in the coming years as EV demand growth slows. **B3**
- ◆ **Vodafone** plans about \$2.3 billion in share buybacks and forecast a return to top-line growth in Germany, its biggest market. **B4**
- ◆ **The Dutch government** trimmed its stake in ABN Amro, following the example of European peers that are selling holdings in banks they supported during the financial crisis. **B11**
- ◆ **Palo Alto Networks** logged higher revenue for its fiscal third quarter, though profit slipped as expenses increased. **B5**

### World-Wide

- ◆ **Trump** warned Republican dissenters that they would pay a steep political price if they impeded his multitricillion-dollar tax-and-spending agenda that party leaders want to pass quickly through the House. **A1, A4**
- ◆ **The president** named Space Force Gen. Michael Guetlein to oversee the development of a "Golden Dome" antimissile shield to protect the U.S. **A5**
- ◆ **Secretary of State Rubio** warned that Syria potentially was weeks away from a return to civil war, something the U.S. was seeking to avert when it said last week it would lift sanctions on Damascus. **A7**
- ◆ **A jail maintenance worker** was arrested for allegedly helping 10 inmates escape from a New Orleans corrections facility last week. **A3**
- ◆ **Senate Democrats** pressed Trump's nominee to run the IRS over his promotion of tribal tax credits and acceptance of campaign donations from people tied to those claims. **A5**
- ◆ **Caracas** released an imprisoned U.S. Air Force veteran, a move the government hopes could encourage Washington to allow Western oil companies to continue operating in Venezuela. **A16**

## For Kids' Day, First Lady Is the Adult in the Room



YOUNG AIDES: First lady Melania Trump hosted staffers' children at the White House on Tuesday, helping them with crafts.

## President Tells GOP Dissenters To Drop Objections

Trump signals waning patience with opposition over Medicaid, SALT cap

BY OLIVIA BEAVERS  
AND SIOBHAN HUGHES

WASHINGTON—President Trump turned the screws on holdout Republicans, warning they would pay a steep political price if they stood in the way of the multitricillion-dollar tax and spending agenda that party leaders want to pass quickly through the narrowly divided chamber.

In a closed-door meeting Tuesday with the House GOP conference, the president urged fiscal conservatives to give up efforts to expand Medicaid cuts and a bloc of moderates to drop their drive for further blue-state tax relief, pushing them to unite around his "one big beautiful" budget bill, according to people familiar with his comments.

"Don't f— around with Medicaid," Trump said, according to attendees.

Trump's arm-twisting came at a high-stakes moment: House Speaker Mike Johnson (R., La.) has said he wants to vote on the package as soon as Wednesday and no later than the coming Memorial Day weekend. But holdout lawmakers said sticking points remained and could force changes to the bill or delays in voting despite Trump's exhortations.

The measure funds a series of promises Trump, a Republican, made on the campaign trail. It would extend his 2017 tax cuts and make new ones like no taxes on tips, as well as boost border spending and repeal climate tax credits. He warned that taxes would rise for many U.S. households if Congress fails to extend the provisions from his first term and that Republicans who opposed the bill could face primary challenges.

"What Republican would vote for that? Because they wouldn't be a Republican much longer. They would be knocked out so fast," Trump said before the meeting, arguing the party is united—except for "one or two grandstanders." He took aim at one House Republican opposed to the bill, saying Rep. *Please turn to page A4*

- ◆ **Trump tax bill** divides the GOP..... **A4**
- ◆ **S&P 500** snaps six-day winning streak..... **B1**

## Europe's Firms Fall Far Behind In the Race to Create Big Tech

Lack of innovation holds economies back, weighing on Continent's future

BY TOM FAIRLESS  
AND DAVID LUHNOW

BERLIN—The world's technology revolution is leaving Europe behind.

Europe lacks any homegrown alternatives to the likes of Google, Amazon or Meta. Apple's market value is bigger than the entire German stock market. The continent's inability to create more big technology firms is seen as one of its biggest challenges and is a major reason why its economies are stagnating. The issue is

even more urgent with the prospect of higher tariffs threatening to further curb economic growth.

Investors and entrepreneurs say obstacles to tech growth are deeply entrenched: a timid and risk-averse business culture, strict labor laws, suffocating regulations, a smaller pool of venture capital and lackluster economic and demographic growth.

Thomas Odenwald, a German tech entrepreneur, left Silicon Valley in January of last year to join Aleph Alpha, a Heidelberg, Germany-based startup that aimed to go head-to-head with artificial intelligence leader OpenAI.

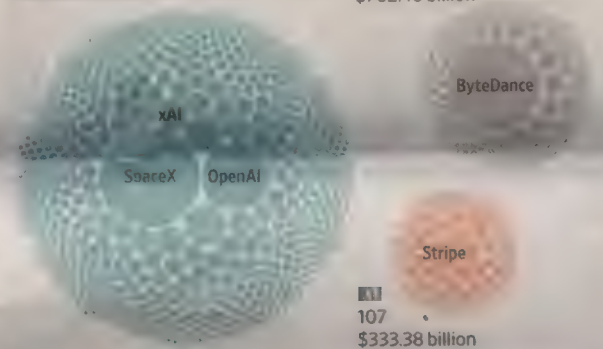
Odenwald had spent nearly three decades working in California. *Please turn to page A8*

Privately held technology companies valued over \$1 billion, by select country/region

Valuation  
\$200B  
\$100B  
\$50B

U.S.  
90 companies  
Combined value: \$2.53 trillion

China  
162  
\$702.46 billion



Note: Stripe is headquartered in both Dublin and San Francisco, and its value is split between the U.S. and EU; combined values exclude companies valued under \$1 billion; data as of Jan. 7  
Source: CB Insights  
ANDREW BARNETT/WSJ

## Google Takes Aim at AI Rivals on Search

BY KATHERINE BLUNT

Google is overhauling its iconic search engine to compete more directly with a wave of artificial-intelligence chatbots that threaten its core business.

The company has started rolling out on its search page what it calls "AI Mode," which answers search queries in a

chatbot-style conversation without the standard list of blue links.

The option, which Google announced at its developers conference on Tuesday, is being added as a tab within search for users in the U.S.

The change marks Google's most ambitious effort to confront the AI upstarts that threaten its flagship search

product and largest source of revenue.

"It's a total reimaging of search with more-advanced reasoning," said Sundar Pichai, chief executive of Google parent Alphabet. "We are now entering a new phase of the AI platform shift where decades of research are now becoming reality."

Many major tech companies are grappling with the

prospect that generative artificial intelligence could disrupt their longstanding dominance, and face pressure from Wall Street to embrace AI.

AI chatbots are fundamentally changing the way users search for information. In re- *Please turn to page A2*

- ◆ **OpenAI's senior hire** faces profit challenge..... **B1**

## Migrants Stay on Job Despite Crackdown

BY PAUL KIERNAN

WASHINGTON—President Trump's mass-deportation



### U.S. NEWS

Covid vaccines face new hurdles for

### INSIDE



### PERSONAL JOURNAL

Cannes was always glamorous—now it

## Netanyahu Confronts Pressure From Allies To End War in Gaza

BY DOV LIEBER

TEL AVIV—Mounting pressure from Israel's allies including the U.S. to wrap up the war in Gaza is confronting Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu.

said will involve capturing all of the strip. Israel's European allies and Canada said Monday they would "take further concrete actions" if Netanyahu expanded the war and suggested they would consider



# BUSINESS & FINANCE

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THE WALL STREET JOURNAL.

Wednesday, May 21, 2025 | B1

S&P 5940.46 ▼ 0.39% S&P FIN ▼ 0.55% S&P IT ▼ 0.45% DJ TRANS ▼ 1.03% WSJ \$IDX ▼ 0.18% 2-YR. TREAS. yield 3.969% NIKKEI 37529.49 0.08%

See more at WSJ.com/Markets

## Home Depot Plans to Keep Prices Steady Despite Tariffs

Retailer negotiates with its suppliers to shift production outside of China

By DENNY JACOB

Home Depot said it plans to hold the line on prices.

The retailer has been pushing to source more of its supplies from outside of China. It is also working with suppliers to keep prices steady despite tariffs, Chief Financial Officer Richard McPhail said in an interview.

Last week, Walmart announced that it would raise prices because of tariffs, prompting President Trump to criticize the company.

Home Depot thinks about pricing across its portfolio, said Billy Bastek, executive vice president of merchandising. By using that approach, the big-box retailer hopes to hold most prices steady for customers and take market share from competitors that raise their prices.

"It's a great opportunity for us to take share, and it's a great opportunity for our suppliers to take share as well,"

he said. Suppliers say that Walmart, Home Depot and other retailers have been pushing them to make price concessions or shift production out of China. Some of the haggling has prompted Home Depot suppliers to shift their sourcing outside of China.

"We anticipate that 12 months from now, no single country outside the United States will represent more than 10% of our purchases," said McPhail.

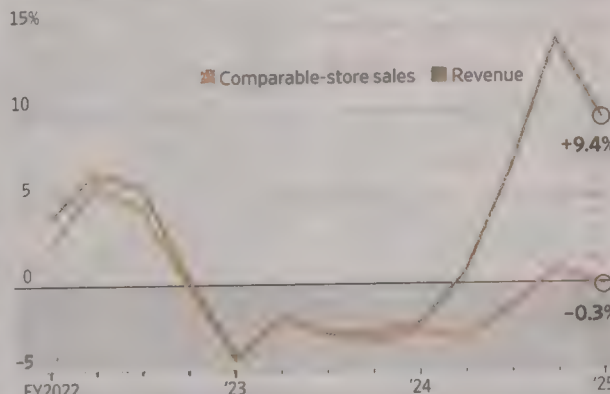
While Home Depot's comparable sales in the quarter slid 0.3%, in the U.S. they ticked up by 0.2%. Poor

weather hurt February sales, but strong employment levels and home appreciation meant that Home Depot customers—mostly homeowners—continued to have money to spend on home-improvement projects, McPhail said.

Chief Executive Ted Decker said he is waiting for consumer confidence to improve. Home Depot's customers continue to spend on projects like painting or yardwork, but the bigger-ticket jobs that would require financing appear to be on hold.

"While there are literally trillions of dollars of equity

Home Depot's quarterly revenue and comparable-store sales, change from a year earlier



Note: Latest fiscal quarter ended May 4  
Source: the company

available to be tapped in the homes, I think there's still enough macro uncertainty," he said.

Walmart and Home Depot kept their financial forecasts for fiscal 2025 unchanged,

contrasting with a flurry of companies that have scaled back or suspended their forecasts in response to on-again, off-again tariffs.

Home Depot shares fell 0.6% on Tuesday.

## Nvidia CEO's Geopolitical Fame Carries Risk

By LIZA LIN  
AND RAFFAELE HUANG

TAIPEI—The American president called him "my friend," Saudi Arabia bought hundreds of thousands of his chips and, in the land of his birth, he was hailed as "the leader of team Taiwan."

With a visit to Taipei this week, Nvidia Chief Executive Jensen Huang capped a whirlwind month of travel that marked him as not just a business tycoon, but one of the world's most powerful geopolitical forces.

Everyone wants a piece of the charismatic CEO and his coveted chips, seen as the gold standard for advanced artificial-intelligence computing. Investors celebrated his global coming-out party by pushing Nvidia shares up 40% over the past month. The stock's swoon in January is a distant memory and the company, with a market capitalization of \$3.3 trillion, is again within striking distance of global No. 1.

But international fame carries risks, too—Huang does business in sensitive regions such as China and the Persian Gulf states.

"His fortune and misfortune is that he created the most

valuable technological input of the decade," said Barath Harithas, a senior fellow at Washington-based think tank Center for Strategic and International Studies. "The danger is that his visibility becomes a liability. He could end up the fall guy if things unravel in the Gulf, and then face political heat for any perceived overreach in China."

Huang's processors and investment spending have the power to change countries' fates, and the 62-year-old billionaire has himself been changed by his power. He has donned a business suit and tie for meetings with world leaders, shedding his customary leather jacket, and added praise for politicians to his salesman's patter about tokens and terabytes.

"Without the president's leadership, his policies, his support and, very importantly, his strong encouragement," Huang said while standing beside President Trump at the White House on April 30, "frankly, manufacturing in the United States wouldn't have accelerated to this pace."

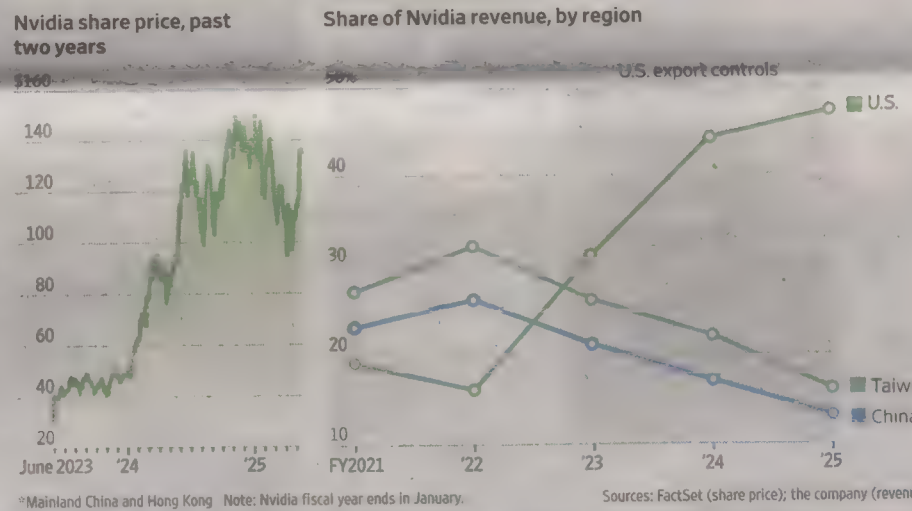
Trump returned the favor two weeks later by giving a shout out to the CEO in a

Please turn to page B2

The company's processors and spending have power to change countries' fates.



CEO Jensen Huang remains friends with the U.S. and China despite tensions between the two.



\*Mainland China and Hong Kong Note: Nvidia fiscal year ends in January.

Sources: FactSet (share price); the company (revenue)

## Miami Beach's Art Deco District Faces Threat

By DEBORAH ACOSTA

MIAMI BEACH, Fla.—Florida's effort to tackle its affordable-housing crisis is crashing into this city's famous art deco history.

Proposed changes to a state law would allow developers to knock down hundreds of Miami Beach's iconic art deco buildings and replace them with rows of taller apartment buildings.

The city boasts the world's largest concentration of this early-20th-century architectural style, including the famous Raleigh Hotel and the Tides Hotel.

Now, a revised version of

South Beach, critics of the law's changes say.

"Our art deco architecture, it's our Leaning Tower of Pisa, our Eiffel Tower, our pyramids," said City Commissioner Kristen Rosen Gonzalez at a gathering of lawmakers on Miami Beach's Ocean Drive last

week. The art deco neighborhood near the Atlantic Ocean generates more tourism revenue than any other part of the state but Disney World, she said.

Developers, however, say it is necessary to create more housing for the city's lower-

and middle-income residents and to ease the city's chronic traffic congestion, particularly along urban corridors.

"I can tell you, generally, that traffic and affordability on Miami Beach is the worst it's ever been," said Russell Galbut, a real-estate developer who has eight proposed workforce-housing projects in Miami Beach. "You cannot save every single building that you want to save. Some of them are not salvageable."

The legislature approved these revisions earlier this year, and it now awaits the governor's signature.

Florida's severe lack of affordable housing reflects a

### INSIDE



#### BUSINESS NEWS

Levi Strauss plans to sell its Dockers brand for \$311 million. B3

#### TECHNOLOGY

## S&P 500 Snaps Six-Day Winning Streak

By ALEXANDER OSIPOVICH  
AND CHELSEY DULANEY

Stocks fell on Tuesday, ending a six-day winning streak for the S&P 500, as losses in technology weighed on major indexes.

The S&P 500 declined 0.4%. The Dow Jones Industrial Average lost 114.83 points, or 0.3%, while the technology-heavy Nasdaq Composite closed 0.4% lower.

Alphabet and Amazon both fell more than 1%, while Apple and Nvidia dropped about 0.9% each.

Out of the Magnificent Seven tech stocks, the only one to post a gain was Tesla. Shares of the electric-car maker rose 0.5% after Chief

Please turn to page B11

◆ Heard on Street: Foreign stocks are the rage..... B12

## New Hire's Goal: Guide OpenAI To a Profit

By BERBER JIN  
AND KEACH HAGEY

Fidji Simo, OpenAI's newest senior hire, and CEO Sam Altman bonded over a mutual fixation: They hate standing meetings and love to kill them in the name of efficiency.

Simo will need that waste-no-time ethos in her new role helping OpenAI prepare to go public in the coming years. In her newly created role of CEO of applications, she is charged with helping the ChatGPT maker become a profitable global business, while remaking an internal culture that has been mired in executive



# CALIFORNIA

TUESDAY, JUNE 10, 2025 :: LATIMES.COM/CALIFORNIA



ROBERT GAUTHIER Los Angeles Times

AT GRAND PARK in downtown L.A., protesters call for the release of union leader David Huerta, who was detained by ICE agents.

## Peaceful, boisterous but angry

Thousands protest in Grand Park over union leader's arrest and raids.

BY HAILEY BRANSON-POTTS

Thousands of union members, immigrants' rights activists and supporters gathered in Grand Park in downtown Los Angeles on Monday afternoon to demand the release of David Huerta, the California union president arrested and injured during Immigration and Customs Enforcement raids last week.

The protesters were peaceful and boisterous. They sang, chanted, and held signs with slogans such as, "Warm Margaritas B-Cuz F— ICE." Their presence was in contrast to the downtown surrounding them, which was quiet, vandalized and lined with police and National Guard vehicles.

"It's been a weekend of chaos, not initiated by the working people, the working immigrants of Los Angeles," Arnulfo De La Cruz, president of Service Employees International Union Local 2015, said in an interview at the rally, which was organized by the union.

"The ICE raids," he added, "are having a traumatizing and devastating impact on our community ... and we have very serious concerns about the conditions of the people that they're picking up."

And he said it was important to remember that in Los Angeles, "thousands and thousands of immigrant workers are now having to get through the National Guard, the LAPD, the L.A. County sheriffs, just to be able to get to work, with the fear that they might not come home and that their children might not be picked up from school."

"I don't think those are California values," De La Cruz said. "Right?"



MYUNG J. CHUN Los Angeles Times

AN OFFICER kicks tear gas back toward the crowd Saturday during an anti-ICE protest.

## City is caught up in ICE raids

Paramount, a proud blue-collar suburb, is shaken by clashes between federal agents, protesters.

BY NATHAN SOLIS AND MELODY PETERSEN

Jessica Juarez walked along Alondra Boulevard with a trash bag full of spent gas canisters, her voice hoarse as she helped clean her community with other residents Sunday morning.

The volunteers were parents and neighbors in Paramount, armed with plastic bags, latex gloves and face masks.

An acrid odor lingered in the air the day after law enforcement fired gas canisters and flash-bang grenades at protesters on Alondra.

"I'm proud of our community, of the strength we showed," Juarez, 40, said. "It's like they put so much fear into Paramount, and for what? These guys didn't even clean up after themselves."

Paramount was thrown into the national spotlight over the

weekend as the Trump administration on Saturday said it would send 2,000 National Guard troops into Los Angeles after a second day in which protesters confronted immigration agents during raids of local businesses.

Tension rose again Sunday in the Los Angeles area as protesters faced off with federal and local authorities in downtown L.A.

Paramount, a small city of 54,000 in southeastern Los Angeles County, is known for how its residents and government officials worked in the 1980s to trans-

[See Paramount, B5]

## Baldoni lawsuit against Lively is tossed

Judge also blocks a case against New York Times, which reported actor's allegations.

BY JOSH ROTTENBERG

In a sweeping decision capping one of Hollywood's most closely watched legal battles, a federal judge on Monday dismissed two high-stakes lawsuits brought by "It Ends With Us" director Justin Baldoni and his production company, Wayfarer Studios.

U.S. District Judge Lewis J. Liman ruled that wide-ranging claims against actress Blake Lively, her husband Ryan Reynolds, the New York Times and others — including defamation, extortion and breach of contract — failed to meet legal standards.

The dispute stemmed from a December 2024 New York Times article detailing sexual harassment allegations that Lively made against Baldoni during production of the romantic drama, based on a formal complaint she filed with California's Civil Rights Department.

Baldoni and Wayfarer alleged that the article — and Lively's broader conduct — were part of a retaliatory campaign to seize creative control of the film, exclude Baldoni from publicity efforts and harm his reputation.

Liman rejected those arguments. [See Baldoni, B2]

## State sues U.S. over demand for trans athlete ban

Lawsuit argues Justice Department oversteps by ordering schools to 'discriminate.'

BY KEVIN RECTOR AND HOWARD BLUME

California sued the U.S. Justice Department on Monday over its demand last week that local school districts ban transgender youth from competing in sports, arguing the federal agency had overstepped its



## STATE SUES OVER PRESIDENT SENDING IN GUARD

California officials say Trump overstepped authority and violated the 10th Amendment limiting federal power.

BY LAURA J. NELSON  
AND KEVIN RECTOR

California officials on Monday said they filed a federal lawsuit over the mobilization of the state's National Guard during the weekend's immigration protests in Los Angeles, accusing President Trump of overstepping his federal authority and violating the U.S. Constitution.

As thousands of people gathered in the streets to protest raids and arrests by U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement, Trump mobilized nearly 2,000 members of the National Guard over the objections of California Gov. Gavin Newsom, who said that state officials could handle the situation and that Trump was sowing chaos in the streets for political purposes.

California Atty. Gen. Rob Bonta said the decision by Trump and U.S. Defense Secretary Pete Hegseth violated the 10th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, which spells out the limits of federal power. Bonta said the state will seek a restraining order for the "unlawful, unprecedented" deployment of the National Guard, and states in the 22-page lawsuit that an impending deployment of U.S. Marines was "similarly unlawful."

Trump and Hegseth ignored law enforcement's expertise and guidance and trampled over our state's, California's, sovereignty," Bonta said at a Monday news conference.

Experts and state officials say Trump's actions and the subsequent lawsuit have thrust the U.S. into uncharted legal territory. Bonta said there have not been many court rulings on the questions at play because the statute Trump cited "has been rarely used, for good reason."

"It is very unusual and unnecessary, and out of keeping with our constitutional tradition, that they are there without the consent of the governor, in a situation where the governor says that state authorities have the situation under control," said Laura A. Dickinson, a professor at the George Washington University Law School.

Whether Trump's action was illegal, Dickinson said, "is really untested."

[See Lawsuit, A7]



CHP OFFICERS stand in line near the Edward R. Roybal Federal Building in downtown L.A. on Monday.

CARLIN STIEHL, Los Angeles Times

## Breakdown between Trump, Newsom deepens over crisis

President and governor provide differing accounts of their conversation on handling the protests as situation intensifies

BY MICHAEL WILNER  
AND JULIA WICK

WASHINGTON — The governor and the president are talking past each other.

The two men, despite their politics and ambition, have worked together before, through devastating fires and a historic pandemic. But as immigration raids roll Los Angeles, President Trump and Gov. Gavin Newsom cannot even agree on how they left their last conversation, late on Friday evening on the East Coast, as protests picked up around the city.

Aides to Trump told The Times he issued a clear warning: "Get the police in gear." His patience would last less than 24 hours before he chose a historic path, federalizing the National Guard against the wishes of state and local officials.

The governor, on the other hand, [See Crisis, A6]



Bloomberg

PRESIDENT Trump raised the specter of Gov. Gavin Newsom's arrest.

## How ICE raids could disrupt state's economy

BY LAURENCE DARMIENTO  
AND SAMANTHA MASUNAGA

President Trump promised a new "golden age" for America, but it's been anything but that for Los Angeles, with its dependence on trade and immigrant labor — two backbones of the region's economy.

First, the president's tariffs cut deeply into traffic at the ports of Los

Angeles and Long Beach, and now his push to arrest undocumented immigrants at worksites, which has spurred massive protests after Trump deployed the National Guard, threatens a one-two punch to a region just starting its recovery from January's fire storms.

"The reality is that the U.S. economy is largely today dependent upon foreign-born labor — and in California more so," said Nicholas Eberstadt, a [See Economy, A7]

### Mexican leader speaks

President Sheinbaum condemns the violence in L.A. and stops short of faulting Trump. **WORLD, A3**

### Newsom-Trump conflict

Federal raids draw the governor back into the Democratic resistance against president. **NATION, A6**

### Home Depot in middle

Immigration raids, protests and clashes put the retail chain in a tough spot. **BUSINESS, A10**

### Peaceful protest in L.A.

Thousands of union and migrant supporters sang, chanted and held signs in Grand Park. **CALIFORNIA, B1**

## Marines ordered to L.A. amid unrest

Trump and state officials at odds over federal escalation of troop presence amid protests and damage.

BY GRACE TOOHEY,  
HAILEY BRANSON-POTTS,  
JAMES QUEALLY,  
HANNAH FRY,  
MATTHEW ORMSETH,  
REBECCA ELLIS  
AND RACHEL URANGA

A standoff between California officials and the Trump administration over immigration raids intensified Monday as the federal government said it was sending 700 Marines to Los Angeles and as local police worked to quell several days of unrest in downtown Los Angeles.

The Marine deployment comes even though California officials have said federal assistance is not needed and is actually inflaming tensions. There have been intense but isolated clashes between protesters and authorities for several days after a series of high-profile immigration arrests.

Late Sunday and early Monday some businesses were vandalized and burglarized downtown, concluding hours of unrest that saw Waymo cars burned, police cruisers struck with rocks and electric scooters, and various forms of vandalism downtown and in the Civic Center. Although most of the problems occurred within a few blocks, they have taken on worldwide attention after President Trump deployed the National Guard to L.A.

On Monday, a senior Trump administration official told The Times that the deployment of 700 active-duty U.S. Marines from Camp Pendleton to Los Angeles would occur "in light of increased threats against federal officers and federal buildings."

So far, the Guard has been mostly stationed at federal buildings while local police handle the protests.

California officials have decried the violent activities on the streets of L.A. and said that illegal behavior will not be tolerated. Officers have made at least 40 arrests linked to vandalism and violence during the Los Angeles protests, Gov. Gavin Newsom said Monday.

Los Angeles Police Chief Jim McDonnell said Sunday [See Protests, A8]

A split is coming for media giant Warner Bros. Discovery



Lethal algae bloom is now over, but marine wildlife not safe yet



# Protests and vandalism in downtown L.A.

[Protests, from A1]

that violence in the city has only escalated since protesters clashed with officers Friday outside a federal detention center in downtown L.A. He described the violence as "disgusting." Law enforcement stopped short of implementing a curfew in the city, which it has done during past protests.

"These past few nights we've seen a level that disgusts every good person in this city," he said.

Nine people, including Service Employees International Union California leader David Huerta, have been federally charged in connection with the protests, according to the U.S. attorney's office in Los Angeles.

On Monday — a day of June gloom and chill — downtown Los Angeles bore the vulgar graffiti of a weekend of chaos and protest. In the blocks surrounding City Hall and LAPD headquarters, buildings were scrawled in spray paint. The epithet "F— ICE" was ubiquitous.

In front of the federal building on Los Angeles Street, yellow city street sweepers rolled back and forth between blooming jacarandas and scores of police vehicles.

Graffiti marred the exterior of City Hall, an Art Deco landmark built in 1928. "F— ICE," "F— LAPD," and "F— Trump" were all spray-painted on walls and stairs, along with a rendering of excrement radiating stink lines. The former Los Angeles Times building bore many of the same vulgarities, and the words: "Immigrants rule the world."

Spent rubber rounds and broken glass were scattered along Spring Street, remnants of a chaotic night in downtown.

Octavio Gomez, a supervisor with the DTLA Alliance, quickly rolled black paint on a wall next to Grand Central Market, covering the words "LA IS NOT SAFE!" and others.

"Today's a bad day because of ... last night," Gomez said. "It's all going to come back, right? Because there's still protests."

The T-Mobile store on South Broadway had several windows boarded up and glass was strewn across the sidewalk. Some nearby stores typically open on Mondays remained shuttered, including Blue Bottle Coffee. Others, including Grand Central Market, were already busy with customers.

Standing at the edge of Grand Park as police helicopters buzzed overhead, Harry Vartanian said he was incredibly frustrated to see downtown covered in graffiti on Monday morning. He complained that protesters seemed to be damaging property at random for no reason.

"These are hoodlums, man. This is how society is going to function?" the 59-year-old Angeleno asked. "They're just enforcing the law and you're setting things on fire."

Eric Wright and his wife, Margaux Cowan-Banker, vacationers from Knoxville, Tenn., were jogging downtown — past scores of police vehicles — Monday morning when they paused to take a few photos of the graffiti-covered federal building.

It was bizarre, they said, seeing the city portrayed on the news and social media as a place of total chaos when most of Los Angeles was carrying on like any other day.



ROBERT GAUTHIER Los Angeles Times

**PEOPLE** take turns vandalizing a Waymo taxi as protesters take to the streets Sunday to protest ICE immigration raids in Los Angeles.



ROBERT GAUTHIER Los Angeles Times

**A PERSON** throws a rock from Aliso Street on Sunday at CHP officers on the 101 Freeway in downtown L.A.



because there was a need, but because he wanted to take the opportunity of the protests to have a demonstration of his own strength and ruthlessness."

Sunday was filled with dramatic images across downtown.

Protesters converged on the Civic Center area of downtown L.A. on Sunday morning, spilling onto the 101 Freeway around 3:30 p.m. The roadway was then closed to traffic for several hours as California Highway Patrol officers worked to push demonstrators back, detaining several in the process.

A group of demonstrators then descended on five Waymo taxis lined up on Los Angeles Street between Arcadia and Alameda streets around 5 p.m.

Tires were slashed, windows smashed, and anti-ICE messages spray-painted over the self-driving taxis, three of which were then set on fire.

Protesters swarmed around vehicles, tearing the doors off and stomping on windshields. One man with a mask smashed car windows with a skateboard. Another appeared to use a makeshift flamethrower to set the interior of a car ablaze.

As the cars were consumed by flames, some people were seen throwing Lime electric scooters into the burning shells, while others stood back from the fiery scene. At one point, the besieged Waymos began honking their horns in coordinated cacophony, punctuated by the chants of protesters and the whirring of police helicopters overhead.

Some in the crowd milling above the 101 lobbed rocks and chunks of concrete down toward CHP officers who had detained people who protested on the freeway. One struck a police cruiser with a thud, prompting a big cheer. CHP officers responded by firing flash-bang rounds above the crowd.

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AT THE University of Hawaii, above, 17 students in the College of Engineering have signed up for loans from a \$2.5-million revolving fund.

# A NEW STUDENT LOAN PROGRAM

Under no-interest, no-fee, 'pay-it-forward' programs, graduates' repayments lift up others who follow

By Jon Marcus

Joshua Alferos was two semesters away from a bachelor's degree in electrical engineering when he ran out of money. He was about to change his major or drop out.

Then he heard of a new, experimental program run by philanthropies and private businesses that would lend him what he needed to finish college — at zero interest and with no fees. The debt wouldn't come due until he earned a minimum salary, and his employer would probably help him pay it off.

One of the best parts, to Alferos: The repayment goes into a pool to provide the same help for other young, low-income Hawaiians who come after him.

"It's pretty empowering, because you can help future students," said Alferos, who has continued his studies with the loan program.

This pay-it-forward approach to covering the cost of college multiplies the number of students who can benefit from a fixed supply of financial aid and can help fill shortages of workers in crucial industries.

California will soon join the effort.

A San Diego county-run program will begin in the fall. Although a bill introduced by Assemblywoman Pilar Schiavo (D-Chatsworth) to create a pay-it-forward fund for some students in the University of California and California State University systems did not advance this session, it will be heard again in January.

The San Diego program will target majors in behavioral health, including clinicians, practitioners and psychiatric nurses — professions with a collective 8,000-worker shortfall in San Diego. Those loans will be entirely forgiven for graduates who work in behavioral health for five years or more.

"What you need to be looking at

is where there is enduring demand for particular credentials or degrees," said Kirstin Hill, president and chief operating officer at Social Finance, a nonprofit that designed and helps to manage pay-it-forward funds around the country.

At a time when millions of people have defaulted on their student loans and face aggressive renewed enforcement measures by the federal government to collect payments, the pilot programs are intended to spur momentum, their backers say.

"It's a new way of thinking about scholarship support that lets you extend your dollars" further than by simply giving away money, said Alex Harris, vice president of programs at the Harold K.L. Castle Foundation, the lead donor of the Hawaii Renewable Learning Fund. That's because once it's paid back, it can be lent again.

This feature resonates in Hawaii, which has a tradition of mutual support called "kokua."

"There is that long cultural history that when one person succeeds, everyone is raised up," Harris said.

Under the pilot, Hawaiian engineering students from families

with low incomes can borrow from a \$2.5-million revolving fund underwritten by the Castle Foundation and other donors.

Repayments don't start until the students graduate and earn \$50,000 or more. Some of the state's biggest engineering firms have agreed to help their new employees pay off the loans to boost recruitment. The university helps to promote the program.

The pilot in Hawaii began with engineering majors because the state is heavily dependent on engineers in its key defense, construction and tourism industries — but has a chronic shortage of them.

In addition to Hawaii and San Diego, pay-it-forward programs have been started or will launch in the fall in Colorado, Massachusetts, New Jersey, New York and Miami. Each is focused on a field with high demand but short supply — healthcare and information technology in Colorado and New Jersey and climate careers in Massachusetts.

In 24 states with shortages or projected shortages of registered nurses, a pay-it-forward fund has been set up to help residents study

nursing at the national, online Western Governors University. Google is doing something similar for students pursuing certificates in data analytics, digital marketing and e-commerce, IT support, project management and other fields.

Massachusetts and New Jersey have put public money behind these efforts in collaboration with private sources.

There are obstacles. At least 24 states have considered such programs, but high startup costs and other issues prevented the launch. In Illinois, for example, a proposal for a universal pay-it-forward loan fund got as far as a feasibility study. Researchers calculated that it would take billions of dollars in startup money and decades to pay for itself.

This isn't the only problem, according to the study, done by the Illinois Student Assistance Commission. Giving students loans at zero interest might encourage colleges and universities to raise their prices, it speculated. Also, because the programs are so far focused on higher-paying jobs, students might be nudged away from important but less-well-compensated fields such as teaching and social

work. And sorting details about taxes or what would happen in bankruptcy is complex.

But advocates argue that paying for college now is also complicated and expensive, and discourages many Americans from going.

The interest rate for undergraduate federal-government-subsidized student loans is 6.53%, and Americans hold more than \$17 trillion in student loan debt.

Another unexpected issue: Students are surprisingly suspicious of the programs. Many have experienced misleading promises of financial aid from universities and colleges, the changing rules for federal loans and slow and unresponsive loan servicers.

No students responded to an initial email he sent out announcing the fund, said Brennon Morioka, dean of the University of Hawaii College of Engineering — and their program is small.

Since it began in the fall, 17 engineering majors have signed up, according to Harris at the Castle Foundation, fewer takers than anticipated.

"I thought it was too good to be true, but I took a chance," said one, Melanie Habon, whose immigrant parents from the Philippines encouraged her to become a structural engineer.

Habon said she worked on new graduate housing going up on campus, a project she joined as an intern for one of the firms that's part of the program.

"I like that there's a direct line from being a student to working in your industry," she said. "And I like that I know where my money will be going."

This article was written by the Hechinger Report, a nonprofit, independent news organization focused on inequality and innovation in education.

## Teachers have questions about 'learning studios'

At the new Compton High, classrooms will be more like college lecture halls.

by HOWARD BLUME

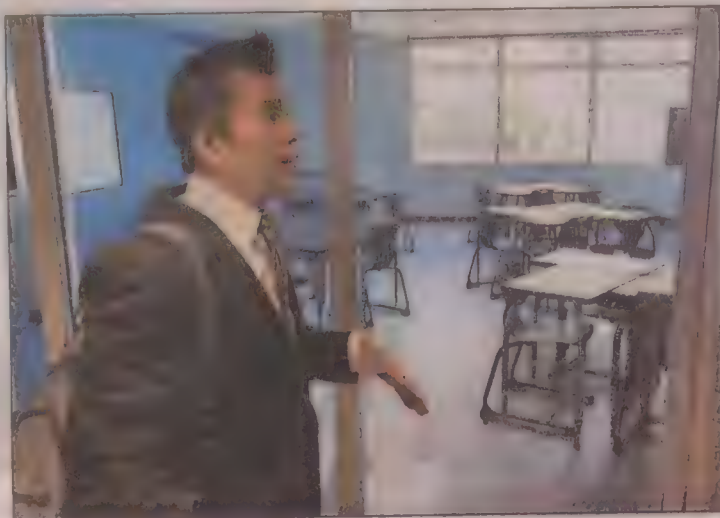
Social studies teacher Gregg Solkovits remembers his days ears ago at Monroe High School in the San Fernando Valley as an unlucky campus wanderer, trudging from classroom to classroom, lugging teaching materials and personal artifacts around, as he did not have a room to call his own.

Some teachers had to do it — because L.A. schools in the 1990s and 2000s were vastly overcrowded and not all middle and high school teachers could have their own room.

But now, his ordeal — updated and recontextualized — is being pursued as an instructional innovation.

The new Compton High School, which will open in the fall, stands as a prime example: Teachers will not have their own classrooms — but will conduct classes in various spaces depending on the topic and availability. The high-tech classrooms themselves are rebranded as "learning studios" and will function much like college lecture halls.

"The big focus here was to create a space that's very flexible and adaptable," said Alenoush Aghajani, who served as Compton High's design leader for archi-



HOWARD BLUME Los Angeles Times

PRINCIPAL Larry Natividad is near a Compton High "learning studio," a shared space. Teachers won't have their own rooms.

ecture firm DLR Group, as she described the features in one classroom.

"So all these tables and chairs are movable, and there are cord rails hanging up from the ceiling, so they can get access to power in any configuration they might need," she said. "And we created a space that will have a good projection screen. So students will have an ability to do projection and then tinkering — all these whiteboards are spaces for them to 'tink,' like when they're coding. Students will have infrastructures to work, like an office space, let's say, in the real world."

Compton High Principal Larry Natividad, who, during construction, has had to operate his school at an old surplus middle school campus, is prepared to embrace the concept.

"It is like a college setting," he said, while helping lead a tour of the school in late May. "So when students go to college, they could thrive even more."

When not leading a class, a teacher will have a desk, a computer and limited storage space in a compact "collaboration room."

Technology makes this concept feasible — students are reading, taking tests as well as completing

work and even many projects online. Theoretically, teachers should have a lot less to lug from place to place — unlike Solkovits back in the day. Not to mention that Solkovits had to deal with cramped hallways and substandard classrooms.

The Compton High classrooms are spacious, designed with large glass panes facing both the outdoors and the inner hallways.

Some teachers always have rotated from class to class and done fine — think about elementary music teachers, for example. (Compton High has a sparkling performing arts center for its music teachers.)

Compton teachers union President Kristen Luevanos said that school district leaders deserve credit for bringing ideas, programs and resources into the district, but that there is a history of starting new things with little warning, too little teacher training and too little teacher input.

"How will this work with teachers who have mobility issues who can't cart stuff every period?" she said. "How will it work with the walls — because they're all glass — if you want a print-rich environment?" she said, referring to surrounding students with the printed word, including, literally, on the walls, such as their own work and excerpts from other writings.

She would like teachers invited — with pay — to work through issues over the summer so that the

school gets off to the strongest start possible when the school year begins in August.

Some teachers are downright skeptical of the roving concept.

"Nope. No way," said Nicolle Fefferman, a longtime L.A. Unified high school teacher and L.A. district parent. "As a teacher, I build a physical space that reflects a little of who I am, a little of who my students are, a little about our content, and a little about our school community. ... The foundation of public education is relationship building and we need our physical spaces to reflect that value. The sterile spaces are OK for shopping and hotel lobbies."

An example of Fefferman's point is the South L.A. classroom of Dorsey High Advanced Placement African American studies teacher Donald Singleton, which is decorated with African flags, dolls in colorful African clothing and a wall of fame that includes pictures of Thurgood Marshall, Wilma Rudolph and Colin Powell — a visceral setting within which Singleton and his students waded into the nation's debate over Black history and race.

But Compton High is new and beautiful with families clamoring to get in — and the teachers union leader hopes the new concept works for students.

"Innovation is great and this concept is really interesting — and personally I kind of like it — but there are still a lot of questions to be answered," Luevanos said.



# THE WALL STREET JOURNAL.

DOW JONES | News Corp

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NASDAQ 19591.24 ▲ 0.3%

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10-YR. TREAS. ▲ 7/32, yield 4.481%

OIL \$65.29 ▲ \$0.71

GOLD \$3,332.10 ▲ \$9.40

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## What's News

### Business & Finance

◆ **Warner Bros. Discovery** is splitting itself into two stand-alone publicly traded companies, separating its HBO Max streaming service, movie studio and TV production business from its cable networks. **A1**

◆ **Companies with no previous crypto ties** are investing in bitcoin, courting what some observers say is potential disaster should the token's price fall and taint the buyer's stock. **A1**

◆ **A rally in chip stocks** helped lift the S&P 500 and Nasdaq by 0.1% and 0.3%, respectively, while the Dow was little changed. **B11**

◆ **Ken Moelis, the dealmaker** who got his start with Michael Milken and launched his own investment bank in 2007, plans to resign as chief executive of Moelis & Co. **B1**

◆ **WPP Chief Executive** Mark Read will step down at year-end, triggering a search for a successor at the company after a string of advertiser client defections. **B2**

◆ **A judge dismissed** lawsuits brought by actor and director Justin Baldoni against actress Blake Lively, her husband, Ryan Reynolds, and the New York Times. **B1**

◆ **Alon, Oren and Tal Alexander** filed a defamation lawsuit against the publisher of The Real Deal for what they said was a "smear campaign" by the real-estate trade magazine. **B1**

◆ **Crane agreed to acquire** Baker Hughes' sensor-based technologies company for total cash consideration of \$1.15 billion as it looks to expand its own portfolio. **B3**

### World-Wide

◆ **About 500 Marines** were deploying to the Los Angeles area to protect federal buildings and workers after protests over immigration turned violent, stepping up the response as California officials blamed the Trump administration for raising tensions. **A1, A4**

◆ **The Social Security** commissioner said Elon Musk's Department of Government Efficiency is central to his plans for the agency, even though Musk is no longer in Trump's orbit. **A3**

◆ **Democrats launched** a multimillion-dollar effort to turn Texas into a competitive political arena after decades of electoral losses in the second-largest U.S. state. **A3**

◆ **Canada plans to boost** military spending this year, aiming to catch up to its NATO commitments and try to placate Trump amid sensitive trade talks. **A7**

◆ **Israeli forces and allied** local gunmen fired toward a crowd heading to a food-distribution center in Gaza, Palestinians said, adding that 14 people were killed. **A7**

◆ **A Chinese aircraft carrier** conducted drills hundreds of miles south of Japan's main island, venturing into waters that could be strategically vital in a conflict with the U.S. **A16**



Members of the California National Guard were deployed in downtown Los Angeles on Monday, after a night of protests.

## Marines Sent Into Los Angeles As Blame Traded Over Clashes

California leaders accuse Trump of incitement, plan suit to stop Guard order

LOS ANGELES—About 500 Marines were deploying Monday to the Los Angeles area to protect federal buildings and

By Nancy A. Yousef,  
Marc Vartabedian,  
and Meridith McGraw

workers after weekend demonstrations over immigration turned violent, stepping up the federal response as Cali-

fornia officials blamed the Trump administration for increasing tensions and pledged to file a lawsuit.

The troops, which are assigned to Twentynine Palms in California's San Bernardino County, won't engage with protesters, defense and congressional officials said. Their deployment follows President Trump's decision this weekend to send in National Guard troops to quell the protests.

California officials said Monday the state would file a lawsuit seeking to set aside Trump's order to send in the National Guard, which hap-

pened over the objections of California Gov. Gavin Newsom. In a post on X, Newsom warned that sending National Guard troops to Los Angeles could pave the way for similar deployments in other states.

"This is an unmistakable step toward authoritarianism that threatens the foundation of our republic," Newsom, a Democrat, wrote.

Trump, a Republican, responded in a social-media post saying Newsom and Los Angeles Mayor Karen Bass, a Democrat, should be grateful, and that Los Angeles "would have been completely

obliterated" without the National Guard.

The planned lawsuit escalates tensions between the Trump administration and state officials over federal efforts to ramp up immigration enforcement and deportations, and the White House's move to crack down on protests that have spread in response.

"We don't take lightly to the president abusing his au-

Please turn to page A4

◆ **Images help Trump pivot** to issue he wants..... A4

◆ **Protesters target Waymo** driverless taxis..... A4

## ICE Ramped Up Migrant Raids After the White House Complained

After deportations fall short, ICE agents told to 'go out there and arrest illegal aliens'

Even with the high-profile arrests of suspects by masked immigration agents and the plane loads of alleged criminals swiftly ferried out of the U.S.,

By Elizabeth Findell, Ruth Simon,  
Michelle Hackman  
and Tarini Parti

President Trump was falling short of the number of daily deportations carried out by the Biden administration in its final year.

So in late May, Stephen Miller, a top

White House aide and the architect of the president's immigration agenda, addressed a meeting at the headquarters of Immigration and Customs Enforcement, known as ICE. The message was clear: The president, who promised to deport millions of immigrants living in the country illegally, wasn't pleased. Agents had better step it up.

Gang members and violent criminals, what Trump called the "worst of the worst," weren't the sole target of deportations. Federal agents needed to "just go out there and arrest illegal

aliens," Miller told top ICE officials, who had come from across the U.S., according to people familiar with the meeting.

Agents didn't need to develop target lists of immigrants suspected of being in the U.S. illegally, a longstanding practice, Miller said. Instead, he directed them to target Home Depot, where day laborers typically gather for hire, or 7-Eleven convenience stores. Miller bet that he and a handful of agents could go out on the streets of

Please turn to page A6

### They Travel the World In Search of License Plates

Collectors cross the globe for rare finds, from diplomatic tags to the devilish 666

By ROBERT P. WALZER

"I'm going to save that one for my will," said Craft. Stamp collectors are called

### INSIDE



## Companies Binge On Crypto, Raising Returns and Risk

By VICKY GE HUANG

healthcare services. Some aren't just buying bitcoin, but

## Warner Discovery Planning Spinoff Of Cable

Entertainment giant is contending with a hefty debt load and sagging stock price

By JOE FLINT

Warner Bros. Discovery is splitting itself into two stand-alone publicly traded entertainment companies, separating its HBO Max streaming service, movie studio and television-production business from its cable networks.

One company will be home to CNN, TNT, TBS and Warner's dozens of cable channels, as well as its international holdings. That entity, called Global Networks for now, will hold as much as a 20% stake in the second entity, which Warner is referring to as Streaming & Studios. It plans to use earnings from that stake to pay off debt.

The move effectively undoes much of Warner Media and Discovery Communications' 2022 merger, separating Warner's marquee film and TV from Discovery's reality and nonfiction fare.

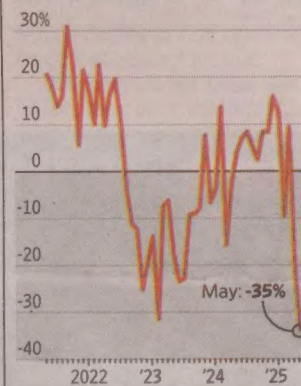
Warner, like other entertainment companies including Disney and Paramount Global, has seen ratings and revenue decline in its once-powerful cable network operation, with consumers ditching traditional pay-television in favor of streaming. Comcast is in the process of spinning off the bulk of its cable-network business into a stand-alone company

Please turn to page A8

## China Exports To U.S. Sink

Chinese shipments to the U.S. in May fell by their biggest percentage decline since the Covid shutdown. **A2**

China's exports to the U.S., change from a year earlier



Source: LSEG



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"All the News  
That's Fit to Print"

# The New York Times

## THE WEATHER

Showers and thunderstorms are expected today along the East Coast and down into states on the Gulf Coast. It will be mainly dry elsewhere. Weather map is on Page B12.

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Prices in Canada may be higher

\$4.00

## Democrats See Some Positives In Trump's Bill

### They Like Tax-Exempt Tips and Overtime

By ANDREW DUEHREN

WASHINGTON — Democrats have no shortage of criticism for the sprawling Republican policy bill winding its way through Congress carrying President Trump's agenda. It would cost too much, they contend, rip health coverage and food assistance away from too many people and strip vital support from clean energy companies.

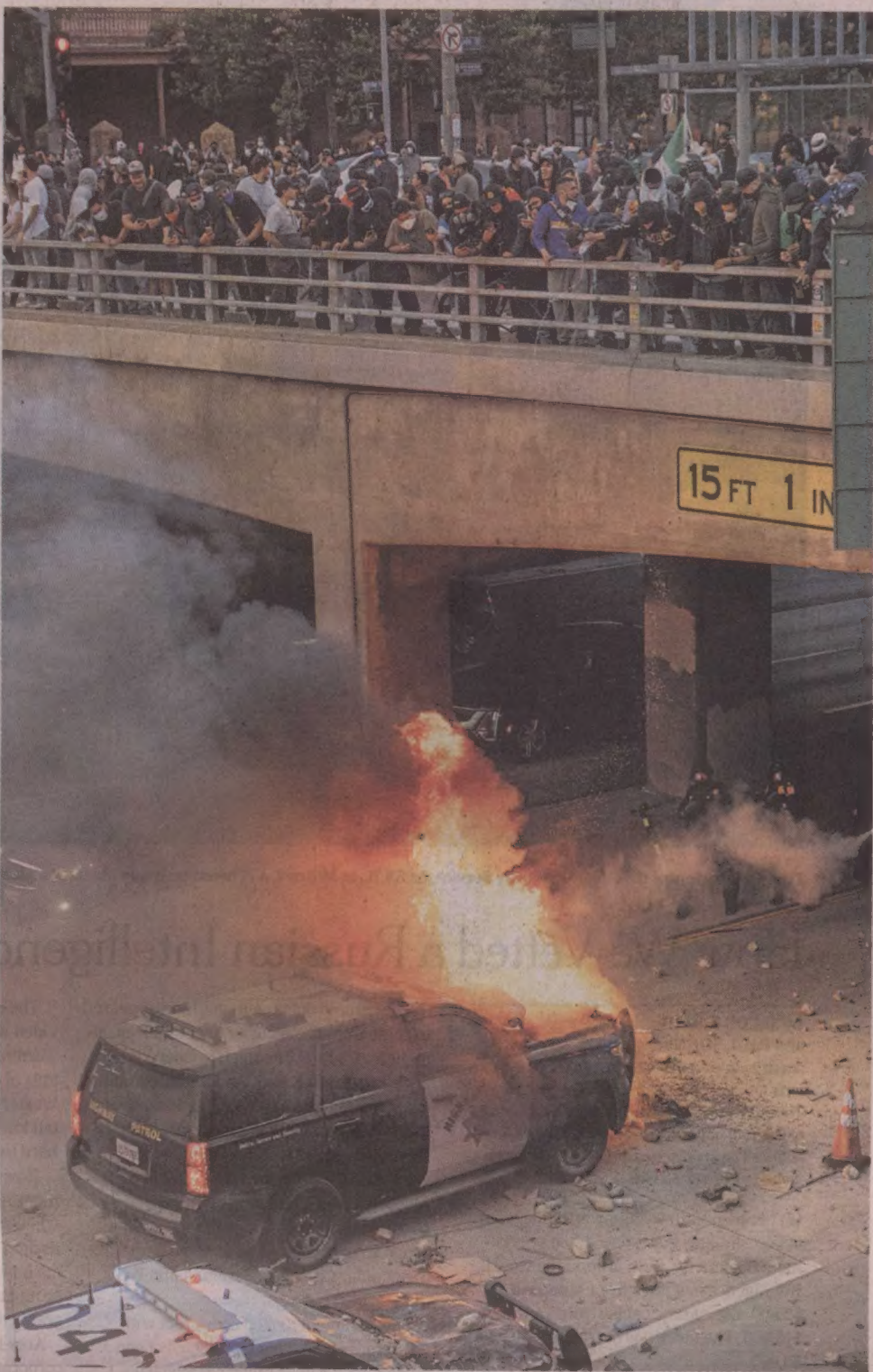
When it comes to some of the tax cuts in the bill, however, Democrats have been less resistant. Some of them concede that they would support many of those provisions if they were not rolled into the larger piece of legislation. In recent weeks, they have taken pains to demonstrate that support.

Last month, Senator Jacky Rosen, Democrat of Nevada, successfully moved to have the Senate unanimously approve a version of Mr. Trump's "no tax on tips" proposal. While the effort was almost entirely symbolic — under the Constitution, the House must originate tax measures — it was still an opportunity for Democrats to go on the record backing a campaign promise of Mr. Trump's that is broadly popular with the public.

"I am not afraid to embrace a good idea, wherever it comes from," Ms. Rosen said on the Senate floor at the time.

The undercurrent of Democratic support for elements of the Republican tax agenda reflects the political potency of some of Mr. Trump's campaign promises, even those that have been derided by tax policy experts. It also suggests that temporary provisions in the Republican bill, like exempting tips and overtime pay

Continued on Page A12



Protesters burned a Highway Patrol vehicle on Sunday after immigration raids in Los Angeles.

MARK ABRAMSON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

## NEWS ANALYSIS

## Trump Leaps at Chance For Clash in California

### Driving His Agenda and Defying a Rival

By TYLER PAGER

WASHINGTON — It is the fight President Trump had been waiting for, a showdown with a top political rival in a deep blue state over an issue core to his political agenda.

In bypassing the authority of Gov. Gavin Newsom of California, a Democrat, to call in the National Guard to quell protests in the Los Angeles area over his administration's efforts to deport more migrants, Mr. Trump is now pushing the boundaries of presidential authority and stoking criticism that he is inflaming the situation for political gain.

Local and state authorities had not sought help in dealing with the scattered protests that erupted after an immigration raid on Friday in the garment district. But Mr. Trump and his top aides leaned into the confrontation with California leaders on Sunday, portraying the demonstrations as an existential threat to the country — setting in motion an aggressive federal response that in turn sparked new protests across the city.

As more demonstrators took to the streets, the president wrote on social media that Los Angeles was being "invaded and occupied" by "violent, insurrectionist mobs," and directed three of his top cabinet officials to take any actions necessary to "liberate Los Angeles from the Migrant Invasion."

"Nobody's going to spit on our police officers. Nobody's going to spit on our military," Mr. Trump told reporters as he headed to Camp David on Sunday, although it was unclear whether any such incidents had occurred. "That happens, they get hit very hard."

The president declined to say whether he planned to invoke the

1807 Insurrection Act, which allows for the use of federal troops on domestic soil to quell a rebellion. But either way, he added, "we're going to have troops everywhere."

Stephen Miller, the White House deputy chief of staff, posted on social media that "this is a fight to save civilization."

Mr. Trump's decision to deploy at least 2,000 members of the California National Guard is the latest example of his willingness and, at times, an eagerness to shatter norms to pursue his political goals and bypass limits on presidential power. The last president to send in the National Guard for a domestic operation without a request from the state's governor, Lyndon B. Johnson, did so in 1965, to protect civil rights demonstrators in Alabama.

But aides and allies of the president say the events unfolding in Los Angeles provide an almost perfect distillation of why Mr. Trump was elected in November.

"It could not be clearer," said Newt Gingrich, the former Republican House speaker and ally of the president who noted that Mr. Trump had been focused on immigration enforcement since 2015. "One side is for enforcing the law and protecting Americans, and the other side is for defending illegals and being on the side of the people who break the law."

Sporadic protests have occurred.

Continued on Page A10

**STANDOFF** California plans to sue the president over his deployment of the National Guard. PAGE A10

## Limits on Loans Could Intensify Doctor Shortfall

By RONI CARYN RABIN

President Trump's proposed budget would make deep cuts in government health plans and medical research, and, critics say, could also make finding a doctor more difficult. It restricts loans that students rely on to pursue professional graduate degrees, making the path to becoming a physician harder even as doctor shortages loom and the American population is graying.

The domestic policy bill, which passed in the House last month, would cap direct federal unsubsidized loans at \$150,000 — far less than the cost of obtaining a medical education — and phase out the Grad PLUS loans that help many students make up the difference.

Medicine, dentistry and osteopathic medicine are among the most expensive graduate programs.

Four years of medical education costs \$286,454 at a public school, on average, and \$390,848 at a private one, according to the Association of American Medical Colleges. Medical school graduates leave with an average debt of \$212,341, the association found.

The price of a four-year program in osteopathic medicine is \$297,881 at a public school, on average, and \$371,403 at a private

## On Tariffs, Swagger in Public and Pleas in Court

By TONY ROMM

WASHINGTON — Shortly after a federal trade court declared many of President Trump's tariffs to be illegal, Howard Lutnick, the commerce secretary, took to television to brush aside the setback.

"It cost us a week, maybe," Mr. Lutnick said this month on Fox News, adding that other countries remained eager to strike new deals despite tariffs being in legal jeopardy.

"Everybody came right back to the table," he added.

With the fate of the president's

### Trump Aides Projecting Dueling Narratives on Trade Policy

tariffs hanging in the balance, the Trump administration has tried to project dueling narratives. Top aides have insisted publicly that their negotiations remain unharmed, even as some of those same officials have pleaded with the court to spare Mr. Trump from reputational damage on the global

stage.

The strategy faced two crucial tests on Monday. Mr. Lutnick and other top advisers met with their Chinese counterparts in London in the hopes of hammering out a new trade deal, and lawyers for the administration were expected to urge a federal appeals court anew to keep its tariffs in place.

The court could factor in "any

Continued on Page A12

**TARIFF TALKS** U.S. and Chinese officials are attempting to resolve their trade differences. PAGE B1

## Life in Crimea: Sunny Beaches And Raid Sirens

This article is by Neil MacFarquhar, Milana Mazaeva and Anna Lukinova.

Every month, Ukraine unleashes three or four attacks on the Crimea bridge. The latest one, last week, used underwater explosives to try to damage the support structure, Ukraine said.

Each salvo forces the bridge to close, disrupting the main artery between the Russian mainland and the Black Sea peninsula for up to seven hours. While official information is scarce, a channel on the Telegram app warns motorists to avoid crossing, as it did during another recent attack, because a "hail of shrapnel" peppers the bridge when Russia's considerable air defenses blast Ukrainian drones.

Ever since Russia seized Crimea in 2014 in a preview of its full-scale invasion of Ukraine eight years later, the peninsula has been a focal point of the conflict between the countries.

Moscow says its conquest righted a historical wrong, and it demanded in cease-fire negotiations in Istanbul last week that any settlement include international recognition of Russian control. Ukraine vows to never abandon its claim.

## Russia Is Wary Of Xi's China, Spy File Shows

This article is by Jacob Judah, Paul Sonne and Anton Troianovski.

In public, President Vladimir V. Putin of Russia says his country's growing friendship with China is unshakable — a strategic military and economic collaboration that has entered a golden era.

But in the corridors of Lubyanka, the headquarters of Russia's domestic security agency, known as the F.S.B., a secretive intelligence unit refers to the Chinese as "the enemy."

This unit, which has not previously been disclosed, has warned that China is a serious threat to Russian security. Its officers say that Beijing is increasingly trying to recruit Russian spies and get its hands on sensitive military technology, at times by luring disaffected Russian scientists.

The intelligence officers say that China is spying on the Russian military's operations in Ukraine to learn about Western weapons and warfare. They fear that Chinese academics are laying the groundwork to make claims on Russian territory. And they have warned that Chinese intelligence agents are carrying out espionage in the Arctic using mining firms and university research centers as cover.





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## PRIDE OF PLACE

Revelers wave flags, cheer and shout Sunday as the LA Pride Parade marches on Hollywood Boulevard.

CARLIN STIEHL Los Angeles Times

## Suit alleges unlawful use of drones by Sonoma County

Three residents seek to block code enforcement officers from taking aerial images of homes. ACLU calls it a 'runaway spying operation.'

BY HANNAH FRY

Three residents have filed a lawsuit against Sonoma County seeking to block code enforcement officers from using drones to take aerial images of their homes in what the American Civil Liberties Union is calling a "runaway spying operation."

The lawsuit, filed by the ACLU on Wednesday on behalf of the three residents, alleges that the county began using drones with high-powered cameras and zoom lenses in 2019 to track illegal cannabis cultivation, but in the years since, officials have used the devices more than



BRUCE BENNETT Getty Images  
"THE USE of drones over someone's private space raises" privacy questions, one UCI law professor said.

700 times to find other code violations on private property without first seeking a warrant.

"For too long, Sonoma County code enforcement has used high-powered drones to warrantlessly sift through people's private affairs and initiate charges that upend lives and livelihoods. All the while, the county has hidden these unlawful searches from the people they have spied on, the community, and the media," Matt Cagle, a senior staff attorney with the ACLU Foundation of Northern California, said in a statement.

A spokesperson for Sonoma County said in a statement. [See Drones, B6]

## Bass not alone in deleting texts sent during fires

County supervisor purges automatically every 30 days and manually 'sometimes.'

BY JULIA WICK AND REBECCA ELLIS

Los Angeles Mayor Karen Bass has come under heavy scrutiny for deleting the text messages she sent during the region's disastrous January firestorms.

But she wasn't the only elected official expunging her correspondence during those history-making days.

L.A. County Supervisor Kathryn Barger, who represents the area devastated by the Eaton fire, also routinely deletes her text messages, her spokesperson said.

"Supervisor Barger's iPhone auto-delete setting is set to 30 days. She also manually deletes her texts sometimes," Barger spokesperson Helen Chavez Garcia said last month.

The Times filed a public records request for Barger's communications with Bass from Jan. 7 through late February.

Barger's office provided no written communications in response, despite Barger having publicly said that she was texting with Bass late into the night Jan. 7, while Bass was in transit back to the city after a diplomatic trip to Ghana.

The other four supervisors — Lindsey Horvath, Hilda Solis, Holly Mitchell and Janice Hahn — do not use the auto-delete function on their phones, according to their spokespeople.

Chavez Garcia said in an email that there is "no predetermined method that the Supervisor applies when selecting which messages to manually delete."

Constance Farrell, a spokesperson for Horvath, said her understanding was that county officials were supposed to retain their text messages for two years to comply with the county's record retention policy. Horvath's office released some of her text messages in February after a Times public re-



JULIANA YAMADA Los Angeles Times  
ALTADENA is in supervisor Barger's district.

cords request. The messages showed the supervisor sparring with Bass during the fires.

The county record retention guidelines make no mention of text messages but say that routine "administrative records" are supposed to be kept for two years.

The board's executive office said the public record act applies to text messages, though some may be exempt from disclosure.

"Whether a supervisor's text is a public record depends on whether it is a text regarding the conduct of the peoples' business," Steven Hernandez, the chief deputy for the executive office, said in a statement.

According to county policy, employees must sign an agreement every year acknowledging that all electronic communications, such as emails or instant messages, sent on county devices are the property of the county.

Bass previously kept her phone on a 30-day auto-delete setting, far shorter than the two-year retention period outlined in the city's administrative code.

However, after being pressed by The Times, which had filed public records requests for the mayor's correspondence during the Palisades fire, Bass' office said it was able to recover the deleted messages using "specialized technology."

(The Times sued the city in March over the mayor's texts. Even though city officials ultimately provided some texts, The Times is [See Barger, B6]

Voices GEORGE SKELTON COLUMNIST CAPITOL JOURNAL

## Newsom's power play on the Delta tunnel

A costly water project is facing resistance from lawmakers, analysts

SACRAMENTO Gov. Gavin Newsom is up to his old tricks, trying to ram major policy change through the state Legislature on short notice. And again lawmakers are pushing back.

Not only lawmakers, but the Legislature's nonpartisan, independent chief policy analyst.

The Legislative Analyst's Office

has recommended that legislators hold off voting on what the governor seeks because they're being pressed to act without enough time to properly study the complex matter.

Newsom is asking the Legislature to "fast-track" construction of his controversial and costly water tunnel project in the Sacramento-San Joaquin River Delta.

The \$20-billion, 45-mile, 39-foot-wide tunnel would enhance delivery

of Northern California water to Southern California.

Delta towns and farmers, environmental groups and the coastal salmon fishing industry are fighting the project and the governor's latest move to expedite construction.

If there are any supporters at the state Capitol outside the governor's office for his fast-track proposal, they're not speaking up.

[See Skelton, B6]

## Former sheriff oversight official faces investigation

Ex-civilian watchdog denies retaliation against a sergeant: 'I was just doing my job.'

BY CONNOR SHEETS

Kennedy said the commission's inquiry into Fernandez appears to be what landed him in the crosshairs of the investigation he now faces. Kennedy denied any wrongdoing in a text message Thursday.

"I was just doing my job



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## Guard deployed despite state objections

Officials say Trump is stoking chaos as troops release tear gas on protesters decrying ICE raids



BY JAMES QUEALLY,  
NATHAN SOLIS,  
SALVADOR HERNANDEZ  
AND HANNAH FRY

California National Guard troops arrived in Los Angeles on Sunday in a show of force following scattered clashes between immigration agents and protesters and amid a widening political divide between California and the Trump administration.

The move by President Trump to activate nearly 2,000 guardsmen marked the first time since 1965 that a president has deployed a state's National Guard without a request from that state's governor. The decision was met with stern rebukes from state and local officials, including Gov. Gavin Newsom, who said the deployment was "not to meet an unmet need, but to manufacture a crisis."

Newsom's office on Sunday afternoon sent a formal letter to the Trump administration asking it to rescind its deployment of troops.

There were tense moments Sunday outside a federal detention center in downtown L.A., with National Guard troops firing tear gas and nonlethal rounds at protesters.

But other areas that had seen unrest over the last few days, including the Fashion District, Paramount and Compton, seemed calm.

It was unclear exactly how many troops were deployed to Los Angeles as of [See Guard, A9]

JASON ARMOND Los Angeles Times

PROTESTERS shout at California National Guard troops sent Sunday to guard the Metropolitan Detention Center in downtown L.A.

## Amid Trump's order, California tries to not play into his hands

BY JESSICA GARRISON  
AND RACHEL URANGA

President Trump and his allies have spent the weekend painting Los Angeles as a city consumed by violent protest and even "insurrection" over immigration raids.

On Saturday evening, Trump insisted the unrest — scattered clashes across the county — was out of control. He bypassed Gov. Gavin Newsom and called in the National Guard. Defense Secretary Pete Hegseth suggested U.S. Marines from Camp Pendleton might



LUKE JOHNSON Los Angeles Times

THE PRESIDENT cast L.A. as a city roiled by violent protest. Above, an immigration march Sunday.

need to be deployed to the streets next.

For a governor whose state was portrayed as being in the grips of uncontrolled rebellion, Newsom responded in an unusual way: He began issuing Californians a series of increasingly sophisticated and urgent pieces of political advice about how not to play into the president's hands.

"The President is attempting to inflame passions and provoke a response," Newsom wrote in an email Sunday morning. "They want the violence. They think it is good for

[See Order, A10]

### What happened in Paramount

What two reporters saw at a chaotic demonstration around a Home Depot that spurred Trump to send in the National Guard. As

## A political lesson from unleashed president for L.A.

BY MICHAEL WILNER

WASHINGTON — When racial justice protests roiled cities across America at the depths of the pandemic, President Trump, then in his first term, demonstrated restraint. Threats to invoke the Insurrection Act and to federalize the National Guard never materialized.

This time, it took less than 24 hours of isolated protests in Los Angeles County for Trump, more aggressive than ever in his use of executive power, to issue a historic order.

"The federal government will step in and solve the problem," he said on social media Saturday night, issuing executive action not seen since civil unrest gripped the nation in the 1960s.

It was the latest expression of a president unleashed from conventional parameters on his power, unconcerned with states' rights or the proportionality

of his actions. And the targeting of a Democratic city in a Democratic state was, according to the vice president, an intentional ploy to make a political lesson out of Los Angeles.

"The immediate question is the legality of the president pulling in the National Guard, and it is another clear example of the president using the full force of the government in response to resistance," said Peter Kastor, chair of the history department at Washington University in St. Louis. "It speaks to how much the gloves are off in his second term."

The pace of the escalation, and the federal government's unwillingness to defer to cooperative local law enforcement authorities, raise questions about the administration's intentions as it responds to protesters. The administration skipped several steps in an established ladder of response options. [See Politics, A9]

## Is federal activation of troops legal?

BY SEEMA MEHTA  
AND IAN JAMES

The Trump administration announced Saturday that National Guard troops were being sent to Los Angeles — an action Gov. Gavin Newsom said he opposed. President Trump is activating the Guard by using powers that have been invoked only rarely.

Trump said in a memo to the Defense and Homeland Security departments that he was calling the National Guard into federal service

under a provision called Title 10 to "temporarily protect ICE and other United States Government personnel who are performing Federal functions."

### What is Title 10?

Title 10 provides for activating National Guard troops for federal service. Such Title 10 orders can be used for deploying National Guard members in the United States or abroad.

Erwin Chemerinsky, one of the nation's leading constitutional law scholars, said [See Powers, A10]



CARLIN STIEHL Los Angeles Times

PROTESTERS watch a car burn Saturday in Compton at Atlantic Avenue and East Alondra Boulevard.